DEC. 23, 1946

New Republic

count those bombs!

Henry A. Wallace EDITOR

15 CENTS

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WATCH OUT, INDUSTRY: HUMAN PROBLEMS AHEAD

[Reprint from a full page published in the New York Times]

How PUBLIC RELATIONS *can help solve them*

STRIKES are only a visible part of today's pattern of maladjustments—and a small part, like the tops of icebergs that show above water. Strikes are dramatic. They dominate any discussion of industry's human relationships, because the United States lost 120,000,000 man-days of production in the first year after V-J Day. Industry necessarily has many other difficulties in human relationships; with workers, stockholders, retailers, distributors, government and consumers. It must maintain good will for its reputation and products with all its publics.

Industry has brilliantly applied the physical sciences in solving its technical problems. The social sciences can serve industry's human relationships in the same way that physical sciences serve industry's technological progress.

How can industry harness this knowledge? By using the objective, independent judgment of the modern technician in social sciences, the public relations counsel, who is qualified by education, professional training and experience to apply science to practical problems. He analyzes his client and the publics on which his client is dependent. He uncovers causes of maladjustments and misunderstandings, and advises courses of action to improve the entire relationship of his client with the public.

He is often asked to meet specific problems or crisis situations. More often he is retained on a continuing basis to help guide the public relations policies and practices of the business.

Faced with today's incredibly complex public relationships, the executive needs professional advice in this field just as he needs a lawyer or engineer.

How can the executive decide which public relations organization or man is best qualified for his needs? It is difficult for him as a layman to differentiate among the publicity man, the press agent and the counsel on public relations. It is difficult to evaluate the soundness or unsoundness of the public relations counsel's methods, or to judge the effectiveness of his operations, since professional standards are not set by the state, as in other professions.

Here is a guide for organizations interested in engaging public relations counsel:

► **To make sure of integrity and probity, ask for and evaluate personal references.**

► **To determine financial and credit standing, ask for bank references and consult Dun and Bradstreet, Inc. or another responsible credit organization.**

► **To judge performance, consult officials of major communications media—newspaper and magazine publishers and editors and radio executives; and present and former clients.**

► **To insure that you get seasoned judgment and wisdom, ask for and study the biographies of the principals. For the knowledge to perform the intricate work demanded requires high educational background and continuity in the profession. No one, no matter how brilliant he may be, can start at the top of any profession. Years of apprenticeship and experience are needed to provide sound public relations advice.**

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New Republic

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EDITOR: *Henry A. Wallace*
PUBLISHER: *Michael Straight*
ASSOCIATE PUBLISHER: *William D. Patterson*
EDITORIAL DIRECTOR: *Bruce Bliven*
EXECUTIVE EDITOR: *Francis Brennan*
MANAGING EDITOR: *Norman Grieser*
WASHINGTON EDITOR: *Helen Fuller*
SENIOR EDITORS: *William Harlan Hale, Robert Hatch, Penn Kimball, James R. Newman*
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STAFF CONTRIBUTORS: *Malcolm Cowley, Manny Farber, Ralph Martin, Angus McDonald, Vincent Sheean, Theodore H. White, Stark Young*
TREASURER: *Daniel Mebane*
ADVERTISING MANAGER: *E. G. Wood*
CIRCULATION MANAGER: *Eric Shumway*
PRODUCTION MANAGER: *Anthony J. Ballo*

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Letter of the Week

In reply to an invitation from Henry Wallace for an exclusive statement of their position, the following cable has just been received by the New Republic *from a group of members of the British Parliament who participated in the recent "back-bench revolt" against the policy of Foreign Secretary Bevin.*

Henry A. Wallace, Editor
New Republic

Sir:

We welcome your cable as a symbol of the basic solidarity which exists between progressively thinking people everywhere. The general attitude you have set out is the same as ours. The way is therefore clear for an enlarging and strengthening of a friendship between all progressives of our two nations which we are convinced will play a vital part in the attainment of world peace. We work for the dispersal of those mutual suspicions which exist between the great powers and which prevent effective international coöperation based on the planned utilization of the world's resources. We hail your published letter to President Truman as an effort of international significance toward removing those suspicions.

We regard conservatism, by whatever name called and in whatever country, as the biggest obstacle to the establishment of real coöperation between peoples whose countries are at varying stages of political, economic and social development. We in Britain seek to demonstrate to the world that a planned economy for the benefit of all can be achieved with an extension, not diminution, of personal and political liberties. We believe that there is within the conception of service to the community as a whole a greater and fuller liberty for the individual citizen. We do not agree that there is a policy to be pursued by this country irrespective of what party is in power—a policy which transcends party differences. Conserva-

(*Continued to page* 886)

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short story contest

for war veterans now attending college

***New Republic** is holding a short-story writing contest for war veterans of both sexes now attending college under the GI Bill of Rights*

First Prize $500 ***Second Prize $250***

five additional prizes of $50 each

thirty additional prizes of a one-year subscription to the New Republic

In addition, all stories published will be paid for at the New Republic's regular rate.

The purpose of this contest is to help discover fresh, authentic voices among veterans of the recent war who are now attending colleges or other institutions of higher learning, with a classification at least as high as that of regularly enrolled freshmen. Graduate students of all types are included.

Stories or sketches may be on any subject, and any length up to 1,800 words. They should be submitted, typed on one side of the paper, with the name and address of the author included, to SHORT STORY CONTEST, the New Republic, 40 East 49th Street, New York 17, N. Y. Manuscripts will not be returned. The New Republic will buy firs serial rights only, for a period of two years after which all rights will revert to the autho

The contest opened December 1, 194 and closes January 31, 1947. Envelopes mus bear a postmark not later than the latter dat

No proof of status is required at th time manuscript is submitted, but successfu contestants must be prepared to prove that a the time of submission they were attendin college under the GI Bill of Rights.

The editors of the New Republic wil be the judges in the contest. The result will be announced, and the prize-winning stories published, as soon as practicable after January 31, 1947.

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New Republic

OLUME 115, NUMBER 25, ISSUE 1673. NEW YORK CITY, DECEMBER 23, 1946

News In Focus

:IO's Second Round

Labor

ABOR FACED its second postwar win- ter in serious straits. Inflation had iped out the wage gains won on last inter's picket lines. Take-home pay in any factories remained below the war- ne averages when price control and tioning still gave the working man :mething for his money. A hostile ongress and a press-harried public ould make this winter's struggle for age adjustments one of organized bor's toughest battles.

In this frosty climate the CIO opened ; campaign last week to retrieve the ıying power of its union members. he "second-round" campaign had been oughtfully planned. It was based on ıited action among workers in steel, ;tos, electricity—the mass-production ants of US industry. It included an :onomic charter to challenge industry's ft-repeated claim that wage increases ıust be passed on to the public in igher prices.

Philip Murray, president of the CIO, eld a luncheon press conference in Vashington to unveil the charter. The IO had commissioned economist Rob- :t R. Nathan, former Deputy Director f Reconversion, to prepare it. Nathan's ırvey contrasted booming 1946 cor- orate profits of $15 billion with a 3-percent cut in the real weekly earn- ıgs of labor (see page 859).

The study was, in Murray's words, an unusual if not altogether extraor- inary procedure." His comment applied qually to the way it was made public. t was thrown out boldly, with undis- uised fanfare, in order to provoke the ;idest possible discussion, argument, :aring apart and mulling over.

Murray, flanked by such dignitaries as nterior Secretary Krug, Economic Coun- il Chairman Nourse and Wage Stabili- zation Chairman Wirtz, rose from the luncheon table to announce that the CIO accepted the report, stood behind it and proposed to argue the CIO wage de- mands down the road this "guidepost" pointed. Whereupon, Nathan, under the scrutiny of 50 Washington newsmen, explained and defended his figures and findings for an hour.

Individual CIO unions immediately moved into action. In New York next day, the United Auto Workers' Execu- tive Board went right down the Nathan line in justifying its bargaining pro- posals. Walter Reuther pointed out the 18-percent rise in the cost of living, the need for an increase in pay of 23.5 cents an hour to restore the real wage loss suffered since the first of the year, and the ability of the auto industry to meet this increase out of profits. The steel workers, meeting this week in Pitts- burgh, were prepared to follow the same theme with only those variations necessary to fit that industry.

Spokesmen for industry were quick to strike back. By the time reporters re- turned to their desks from the Murray conference a rebuttal was already wait- ing for them. George Romney, general manager of the Automobile Manufac- turers' Association, bellowed (in neatly mimeographed form) that Nathan had made unwarranted assumptions about next year's profits. Nathan had made none beyond 1946, unwarranted or otherwise. Romney argued fiercely that the report could not be applied to indi- vidual industries or companies. Nathan had made the same point, with under- linings, in his own statement.

Industry's other rebuttals rested on familiar contentions: the present $15 billion profit rate was justified in rela- tion to sales, national income and cor- porate net worth; the wages of indus- trial workers had risen disproportion- ately during the war and should be brought back into line; a new wage in- crease would touch off equivalent price increases and future price declines would restore workers' real wages more effectively.

There were few signs of prices com- ing down anywhere. Industry's other arguments would rage long and loudly before the bell ended labor's second round.

Wage-Drive Timetable

Labor

PREPARATIONS for the CIO wage campaign were begun last August. President Murray took 45 minutes of the August CIO Executive Board meet- ing to emphasize the necessity for ana- lyzing all the economic facts before deciding on a 1947 wage program. He appointed a wage-research committee on the spot to assemble those facts. With Stanley Ruttenberg of the national CIO staff as chairman, the committee, com- posed of representatives from the field —auto, electrical, textile and clothing unions—worked steadily to finish its job in time for the CIO national convention in Atlantic City last November.

Its report showed that labor mer- ited, and industry could afford, substan- tial wage increases in 1947. But in view of the political weather ahead, stronger protection against the elements was ob- viously desirable. So early in November, the firm of Robert Nathan Associates was retained to give a professional- looking opinion on what kind of wage program the CIO would be justified in seeking next year. The Nathan conclu- sion and techniques very closely resem- bled the conclusions and techniques of the CIO's own research-committee re- port, which still has never been publicly released.

The CIO unions are prepared to work in close formation in this drive. Insiders

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predict that this year will see none of the confusion on timing that the premature General Motors strike set off last year. Each union will develop its own individual strategy but all will be working from a single timetable. The showdown in steel comes first. The CIO's basic steel contract expires February 15. Negotiations with General Motors and Ford will begin about April 1. The United Electrical Workers can open negotiations at will on most of its contracts.

Industry will find the attitude of practically all CIO leaders very different from that of the belligerent John L. Lewis. The CIO leadership is willing to go to great lengths to avoid more strikes. Rank-and-file members are demanding that their leaders produce relief from the cost-of-living squeeze. But the leaders, who are reconciled to stepping gingerly, privately hint that they might make wage settlements at something less than the 23-percent increase which the Nathan Report justifies, in order to avoid another wave of strikes.

Bilbo Under Fire

Congress

A SCRAWNY and hammered-down little man, his face twisted into a weird grin by a mouth operation, squints over the scene of what may be his downfall. He is Theodore G. Bilbo, who wears the ironical nickname, "The Man."

The scene is the impressive Senate caucus room where many men—Ed Pauley, Andy May, John Coffee, the Garssons—have lost some of the luster from their reputations in the past two years. The promise of scandal and the hope that Senator Bilbo may be involved has brought out a large crowd. A tall British correspondent writes droll sketches for a London tabloid. A number of Negro reporters keep their pencils busy. Itinerant Senators drop in and stay to listen.

On the first day of the Senate War Investigating Committee's hearing on charges that Bilbo enriched himself from war contracts, the Senator was both jocular and profane in his loudly whispered remarks to the press tables. He had just paddled comfortably through one investigation of his campaign tactics toward Negroes during last summer's Mississippi primary. Senator Mead opened the new investigation with a moral, "All men are equal in a democracy." Confidently, Bilbo muttered in a loud undertone, "Much ado about nothing."

But on the succeeding days when uneasy Mississippi contractors and politicians squirmed unhappily in the witness chair, Bilbo lost his casual air of indifference. He leaned forward and forgot his asides to the press table. His glasses were awry. His lips were dry, and he sipped frequently from a glass of water. His untouched cigar burned into ashes.

Senator Homer Ferguson, the white-haired Michigan prosecutor, asked most of the questions. Bilbo's Mississippi cronies answered his inquiries in a deferential and unhappy manner. F. T. Newton, a great, sandy-haired man with folds of flesh under his chin, muttered that he had given $25,000 to Senator Bilbo. A war contractor, Newton did not know why his books showed $5,000 owed him by Bilbo and listed as "a doubtful account."

Another key witness was Robert Gandy, the slim and nervous man who kept a little gray book listing contributions to Bilbo's political chums. The hearings produced a lively interlude when former Representative Ross Collins took a poke at Gandy for implying that Collins was friendly to Bilbo. The witness was knocked clean off the stand. Before the investigation closed there might be some other knockout blows.

Back-Bench Revolt

London

REVOLT against the recent trend of British foreign policy has flared again among back-benchers in the Labor Party. A private meeting of 40 discontented members of the parliamentary majority demanded:

1. A statement from Prime Minister Attlee clarifying the extent of Anglo-American talks on arms standardization.

2. Foreign Office reforms to eliminate "political prejudice" against left-wing European governments.

3. Removal of British ambassadors abroad who encourage "reactionary and dispossessed elements, representatives of the old order and persons of former social standing."

Fit to Print

New York Ci

THE New York *Times* creed, "A the News That's Fit to Print," w elastic enough last week to splash large picture layout of Soviet arms fa tories apparently running full blas Over the photographs was the forebo ing headline: *Behind Iron Curtai* When an enterprising *PM* reporte called up Sovfoto, distributors of Ru sian pictures in the US, he discovere that the *Times* had made a remarkabl blunder. Its picture scoop consisted wartime photographs identical to tho Sovfoto had released for publicatio in 1944 and which had been printe in *Business Week* and elsewhere.

Disarmament Resolutio

United Natio

DEMOBILIZED divisions can be spee ily recalled to the colors. But scrapped plane or a scrapped battlesh can never be recommissioned," Secr tary of State Byrnes last week told th UN General Assembly. "The atom weapon is not destined for use in one own territory—it is destined for use i another's territory," Foreign Secreta Molotov replied.

These basic fears—US fear of Ru sia's land armies and Soviet fear of th atom bomb—had haunted the Gener Assembly ever since it first tackled th all-important disarmament question. Th final resolution adopted unanimously b the Assembly was an attempt to cal these fears.

This resolution throws the disarm ment question into the lap of the Sec rity Council, where treaties regulatin and reducing armaments and arme forces will be drawn up for ratificatio by member nations. The Council wi also consider the reports of the Atomi Energy Commission, then establish con trol and inspection commissions to pre vent the wartime use of the atom bom and other major weapons. Plans for world police force are to be accelerated Member nations are to withdraw troop from friendly territories and reduc armed forces at home. An accompanyin resolution gives the Security Counc authority to request whatever informa

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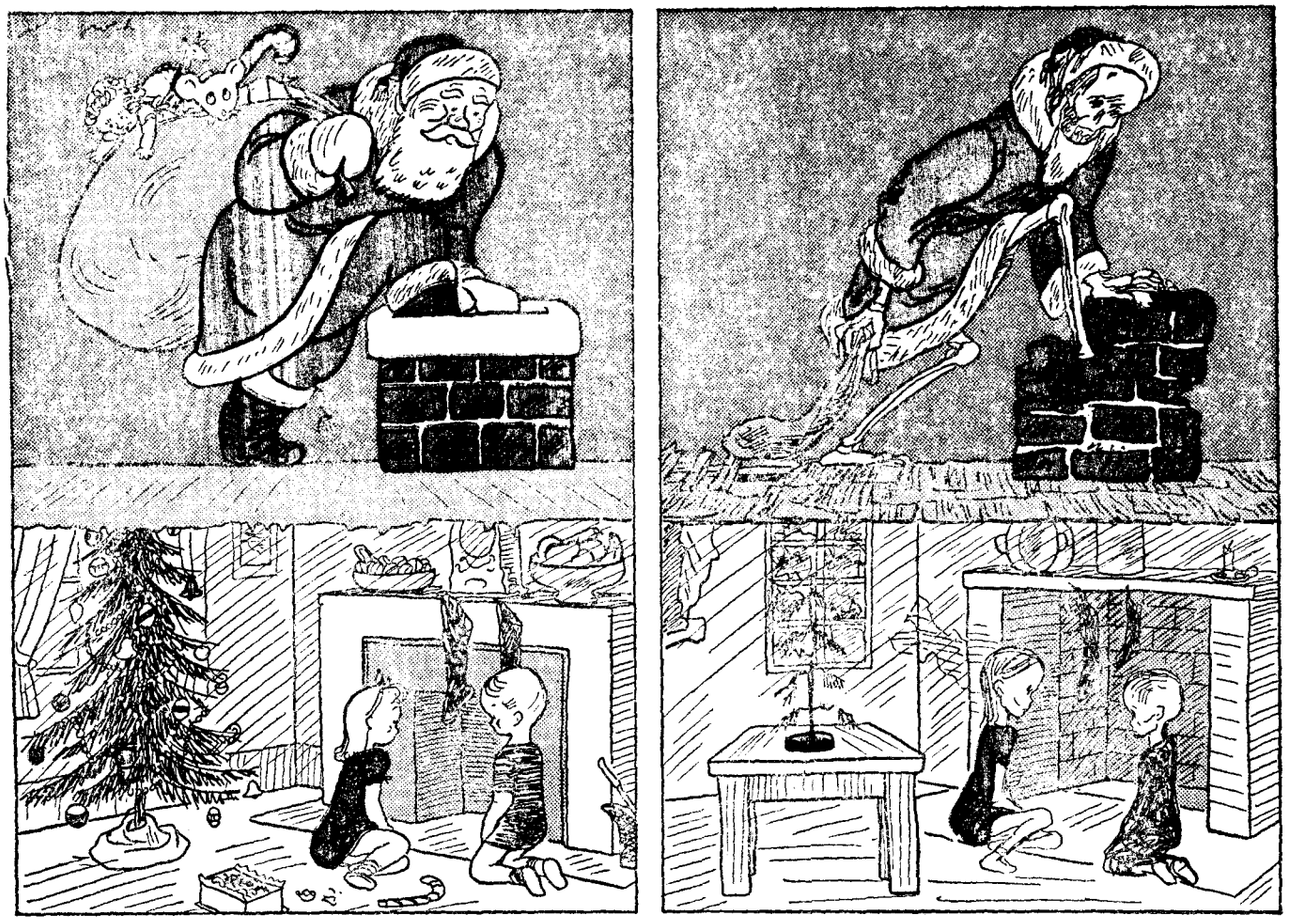

US CHRISTMAS STORY EUROPE

tion it may need on the armed forces of member nations.

Originally the US had wanted complete elimination of the veto where the atom bomb was involved. Instead it got inspection over production free from veto. The Russians had wanted an immediate count of our atom-bomb stockpile and Britain's Sir Hartley Shawcross had almost given it to them in exchange for information on Soviet troops at home. But the "gentlemen's agreement" bogged down in committee, to the immense relief of the upset United States delegation.

Come and Get It

Food

COLLECTIVE action to feed hungry peoples of the world after UNRRA expires is out. It was killed last week by the US, where people are eating more than ever. From now on, the US wants to be the sole judge of what nations get American relief supplies. When UNRRA shipments to Europe end next March, needy countries can come to Washington, hats in hand.

Hopes that the US might be won over to a plan for continuing an international relief agency through 1947 were dashed by Undersecretary of State Dean Acheson. In a radio talk, Acheson first recited US contributions to the war and to world recovery. Then he lashed out at Americans who apologize "for the best things this country does," and who attack their government "before other countries because their own views are not accepted at home."

This shaft was aimed at Fiorello LaGuardia, UNRRA director general, who had cried "food politics" when his own government fought his plan for a post-UNRRA, $400 million, UN emergency food fund. But Acheson was just warming up. Although hailing UNRRA as "the greatest organized humanitarian achievement of all time," he said political factors had influenced its allocations. Undeserving nations got UNRRA aid, he complained. One country (obviously Czechoslovakia) was asking for farm implements from UNRRA while using its own manufacturing facilities to build tanks. Another, he charged, was getting aid while maintaining a large "nonproductive" army. He implied that nations carrying out sweeping economic and political reforms, such as distribution of land to peasants, should not expect outside assistance. Americans no longer would grant "enormous sums" for relief over which they had no control, he said. Hence, they wanted no post-UNRRA international relief agency.

The US plan was simple: Only three or four European countries (beginning with Italy, Greece and Austria) could qualify for free relief by US standards after the end of UNRRA. The government would ask Congress for "a generous appropriation" for such relief. The US would dispense it directly. The UN Secretariat would be a "clearing house" for relief information. That was all.

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Home at Last

United Nations

NEGLECTED by New York, snubbed by Westchester County, fought over by Philadelphia, Boston and San Francisco, the UN had just about decided to give up on a permanent site and remain a gypsy for another year. Then John D. Rockefeller (prompted by William Zeckendorf, Manhattan real-estate promoter) offered $8.5 million worth of crowded New York City for a skyscraper world capitol. With the exception of the anti-urban Iraquian delegate and a few Middle East diehards, diplomats jumped at the offer.

Rockefeller asked New York to give the UN additional land and exempt the whole tract from taxation. Mayor O'Dwyer agreed. When the United Nations starts building, it will possess a sooty 17-acre area along the East River. The site will be accessible to subways, trains, airports, pierheads on its own property and—delegates hoped—housing facilities.

Honeymoon in Germany

Frankfurt am Main

US SOLDIERS will now be allowed to marry their German sweethearts, but the ceremony must wait until the groom is about to sail for home. The ban was lifted by a surprise announcement from Occupation Headquarters, which recently declared an end to our "hate-the-Germans" policy and removed horror films of German concentration camps from military indoctrination. Troops received the news with mixed enthusiasm; some expressed dismay at the tactical effect upon romantic fraulein.

Time Bomb

Congress

THE FIRST annual report to the President of the Council of Economic Advisers this week discloses to a somewhat startled Congress the fact that in the Employment Act of 1946 Congress created an explosive mechanism which is already ticking. The ticking may be ominous for the negative national policy which the Republican leadership has pursued in Congress for 14 years.

There is nothing startling in the findings of the advisers that "while the prospect for high employment and production in the near term is good" there is also the serious possibility of a "dip" in 1947; "that enough time is afforded in which wise policy and action on the part of labor, management, agriculture and finance, with a very carefully considered complementary role by government, will not only raise the national prosperity to new high levels but will maintain those levels with a degree of stability. . . ."

Most Americans long have realized that "enough time is afforded" even if that time now seems to be running out at the threshold of the second postwar year. The issue is, of course, whether Congress and the President—in this period of total political as well as constitutional separation—are capable of utilizing this time to avert what the report calls "serious unemployment, under-production and want in the years that follow."

In this respect, Edwin G. Nourse and his two associates on the council have performed a service in their initial report—even though the form of their report came somewhat as a surprise. Washington had expected a detailed diagnosis of the nation's economic condition. It received, instead, a vigorous interpretation of the powers of the 1946 Employment Act and a pointed reminder to the President and Congress that a national economic program not only is now demanded for public welfare, but also is now required by statute.

This week's general report of the advisers is to be followed in the week of January 6 by the President's own economic report to Congress—on which the small staff of advisers already has made substantial progress. It is the President's version "rather than this council report which will contain specific economic conclusions and recommendations"—in short, a specific economic program for the postwar future of the US.

Congress seems to have overlooked—as certainly have most laymen—that the Employment Act of 1946 puts a time bomb under the new Republican majority in terms of such a program. The statutory requirement is that the President's program be referred to the newly created 14-member congressional joint committee with a specific demand for action *not later than February 1.*

Senator Taft, senior Republican on the new committee, is facing the hard choice of either actually ending GOP procrastination on dangerous and urgent national economic problems or settling back in the old negativism which has hounded the Republicans since 1933.

There won't be much time. After the President's economic program arrives on the Hill in the week of January 6, Taft's

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committee report will be due in three weeks. Congress can, of course, resort to dilatory tactics and amend the Employment Act to permit a greater time lag in the report by the joint committee. But such delay on the part of the new Republican majority in its first month of control would be a confession of weakness before the country.

"Off They Come"

Agencies

THE President's old Missouri friend, Judge John Caskie Collet, came to town to add the finishing touches. Then the country was given its first look at the new agency which is to liquidate the initials that stood for emergency controls: OPA; CPA; OES and OWMR.

The new alphabetical agency was called, with a bow to the election returns, the Office of Temporary Controls. Washington immediately interpreted OTC to mean "Off They Come." The OTC's principal job will be to work itself out of a job as quickly as possible. It will be headed by Major General Philip B. Fleming, director of the Federal Works Administration. He will keep the FWA job, which would become active in case of a depression, and run the OTC as a sort of sideline.

Miserable Columbians

Georgia

THE Atlanta headquarters of Georgia's brown-shirted postwar stormtroopers is no longer the scene of busy activity. The submarginal folk who fell for the anti-Negro, anti-Jewish line of the Columbians, Inc., have withdrawn since its leaders' disreputable plans were exposed. Only Columbian President Emory Burke, Secretary Homer L. Loomis Jr. and an office boy remain at the headquarters. Local law officials predict that Burke and Loomis will "look like zebras" after full justice has been done. Leading Atlantans believe that the Columbian movement has been discredited beyond all hope of revival. There may be more thunder—but no lightning bolts.

The case of the Columbians v. Democracy stands thusly—

1. The assault warrant taken out by Burke, who was floored by a courtroom blow from Assistant Attorney General Dan Duke, is to go before a jury soon. Duke will show provocation, express regret for "soiling his hands," and is likely to receive little penalty.

2. Attorney Phil W. Davis, who came from Tulsa, Oklahoma, to defend the Columbians, has returned home. Davis was one of five nationalist leaders—including Gerald L. K. Smith and ex-Senator Robert Reynolds—who were propositioned by the Columbians' co-conspirators, the Commoner Party, to create a nationalist "gigantic powerhouse."

3. Warrants sworn out by Burke against representatives of the Non-Secretarian Anti-Nazi League, charging them with impersonating law officers and acting as investigators without being residents of Georgia, are not likely to stand up. The latter charge is based on what is probably an unconstitutional Reconstruction statute aimed at carpetbaggers. Anti-Nazi League investigators from New York had obtained confessions from Columbian members stating that the organization was assembling a private arsenal, had conspired to terrorize Negroes and Jews by Nazi methods and dreamed of setting up a US dictatorship.

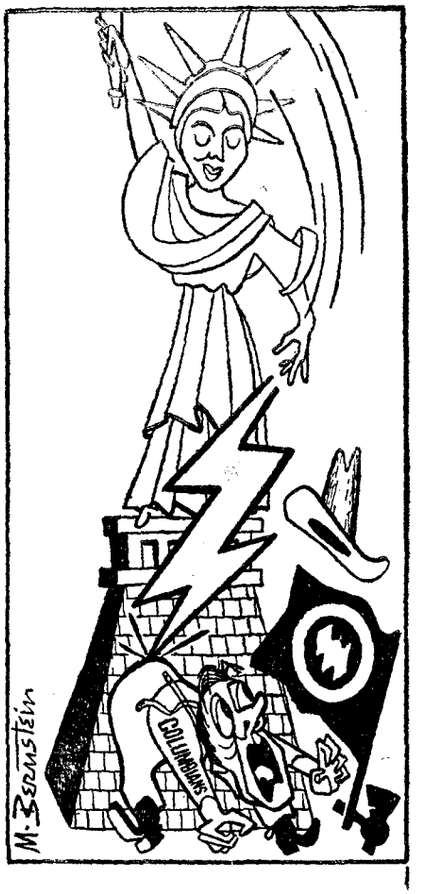
Meanwhile the Ku Klux Klan has already redoubled its efforts to carry on where the Columbians left off and promises "to ride forth as never before" after January 12 when Governor Eugene Talmadge is inaugurated.

Wrong Reasons

Labor

JOHN L. LEWIS received comfort from an unexpected quarter when a Wall Street attorney sent him a personal letter criticizing the government's use of the courts to end the coal strike. George W. Martin, partner in a venerable law firm located in Manhattan's financial district, wrote these sentiments to the head of the United Mine Workers:

> You have been treated by government officials with arrogance and in a manner indicating their ignorance and incompetence. When the Corporation Sovereign undertakes to become a party to a contract it must be assumed to have waived its sovereign prerogatives, and to have submitted to the law of the land. Otherwise there is no contract—just a ukase of some kind.
>
> The resort to the courts by the government for the purpose of executing an administration policy is precisely what the courts in Russia and all totalitarian nations are used for. Among English-speaking peoples the courts are bound to protect citizens from the government and to do justice between parties, and they have no other function.
>
> The remarks of Judge Goldsborough about Karl Marx, labor legislation in Congress, the rights of society and the iniquity of a citizen presuming to know the law himself indicate a befuddlement and exhibitionism which must dismay all who can read and write.
>
> I believe you are quite wrong in this matter, and will be sent to jail—but not for the right reasons.



Premier Blum

Paris

FRANCE'S National Assembly, unable to agree on a Premier from the Communist or Popular Republican blocs, chose 74-year-old Socialist Léon Blum to try to form a compromise cabinet. The veteran of the tumultuous, prewar

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Front Populaire was practically a unanimous choice to break the continuing deadlock.

Blum's selection spotlighted a growing controversy over France's colonial problems. Just prior to the vote in the National Assembly, Blum had vigorously urged that independence be granted to seething Indo-China. Writing in the Socialist newspaper *Populaire*, the new Premier said:

"For months and months blood has been running in Indo-China . . . the French government has today a choice between two courses—either to use military compulsion or establish friendship and confidence. . . .

"I am aware that France is able to carry on to victory. But what then? In what state would such victory leave the subjugated populations? . . . Such a system would be no more tenable in French Indo-China than in the Philippines, Netherlands East Indies or British India. . . .

"There is only one method of preserving our prestige, political and spiritual influence, our legitimate material interests: it is a sincere accord on the basis of independence. . . . The problem is one that will confront the new government in its first hours."

Powder Keg

Illinois

CHICAGO'S Southwest Side is a relatively new neighborhood with plenty of open spaces. The Chicago Housing Authority considered it an ideal spot for temporary homes. It built an 186-unit Airport Homes development for veterans, and invited applicants to state their needs, without regard for race, creed or color.

Last week a Negro veteran started to move his family in. A crowd of 100 white neighbors, including four ministers, hurled rocks and clods of dirt at the movers. Anti-Negro demonstrations broke out as police looked on indifferently. Finally, Mayor Kelly publicly supported the Housing Authority's policy and ordered Chicago's cops to enforce it. Nevertheless, only a few Negroes decided to go on living in the project. The rest canceled their applications.

In New York, Saul D. Alinsky, a Chicago social worker, told the National Conference of Christians and Jews that Chicago's Southwest Side was a "powder keg" ready to blow up into full-scale race riots. "This is the worst spot we've been in for years," he said.

Farmer's Lament

California

THE American Farm Bureau Federation, convening in San Francisco, accused industry's "rigidly high prices" and labor's "high wage rates" of putting the US farmer in the middle. Then the Bureau members voted for continued crop loans, marketing quotas, parity and government action "to prevent the wrecking of farm prices."

Left Turn

Stockholm

SWEDEN'S Middle Way is inching leftward since the Social Democrats lost an absolute majority in the Riksdag and combined with the Communists to exercise parliamentary control.

Tage Erlander, the new Prime Minister, states that the Communist Party has no role in Sweden except to unite a small group of malcontents. But the 27 point government program, supported by the Communists, is strongly Marxist.

First steps toward industrial democracy in Sweden are already being taken. The powerful Association of Trade Unions and the equally vigorous Employers' Association have agreed on labor-management commissions for all enterprises, with a minimum of 25 workers on each. Without state controls, the commissions are expected to add new volume to the voice of Swedish labor.

Mighty Are the Bald

Ohio

LONG-HAIRED intellectuals learned with relief last week that overtaxing the brain is not necessarily conducive to baldness. Northwestern University's Dr. Herbert Rattner buried the theory at a Cleveland meeting of the American Academy of Dermatology. But Dr. Rattner (himself bald) added that loss of hair sometimes indicates a superabundance of the male hormone. He concluded that shagginess is no criterion of manliness.

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Washington Wire

Anti Anti-Trust

THERE'S a sort of mystical adherence to an anti-monopoly policy in political platforms. Since the Sherman Act in 1890, practically every platform has contained a loud huzza for anti-trust enforcement. The GOP in 1944 had a fine, resounding plank: Monopolies and monopolistic prices threaten the very existence of the free-enterprise system." Sure they threaten. So what?

"For more than 40 years each political party rendered continuous homage to the principles of the Sherman Act," anti-trust enforcer Wendell Berge said in Chicago last week, "and yet in practical economic effect during that period the law was a dead letter."

Are things better today? The Anti-Trust Division receives over 650 written complaints each year—two a day. It institutes only 50 cases a year. What happens to the other 600 complaints? Berge says there are undoubtedly well founded cases among them. But there just isn't enough money to enforce the law, while for 40 years there was practically no enforcement at all.

In the past six years the division has paid over to the Treasury just under half of its own cost of operation in annual fines collected; one big monopoly (glass bottles) spent more money fighting one suit than the division has ever received in any single year of its establishment; the monopoly lost after exercising the right, for 25 years, to bar any newcomer from its field. In another case, the direct saving on a single contract in Pittsburgh, because of an anti-trust investigation, amounted to 85 percent of the division's annual appropriation (usually around $2 million). Do politicians really care whether monopoly exists? It's hard to believe so when an informed man like Berge can declare: "Concentration of economic power in this country is increasing beyond any previous crest of monopoly in history"; and, "The monopoly problem is today more serious than at any time since the passage of the Sherman Act."

CONCENTRATION isn't only in corporate monopolies. The other day the impeccable Federal Reserve Board published figures on who owns the $130 billion of loose postwar savings in the country. You can put what it found into a nutshell: 10 percent of the population holds 60 percent; the top-bracket 20 percent owns 77 percent; and the bottom 50 percent of the public holds only three percent of the nation's saving hoard.

We were impressed, too, last week, as big Bob Nathan blew his statistical trumpet in behalf of the CIO, as it opened its "second-around" wage drive. We can't vouch for all Nathan's figures and don't pretend to know what exact percentage point trade unions should ask in wages to equalize living costs. But nobody seems to be attacking Nathan's basic point, that in the past two years the gainfully employed, forming the great bulk of the nation, have suffered a major cut in real earnings, while corporation profits have leaped forward.

Summing it up on three basic points —corporate monopoly, savings distribution and the channeling of national income—the present trend seems to be toward increasing the concentration of wealth. Our economy can stand only so much of that sort of thing; then it gets indigestion and we have a violent convulsion, or so-called "crash." If you add to that the happy GOP preëlection thought of a flat 20-percent cut in income taxes, to aid millionaires—well, then you have everything.

UNDERSECRETARY of Agriculture Dodd, back from Europe, gives a typical one-day's diet in part of the US zone in Germany which he visited:

Breakfast:	1 slice black bread ½ pat butter 1 cup black ersatz coffee
Dinner:	1 bowl flour soup 4 small potatoes 1 square of meat the size of two pats of butter
Supper:	1 slice black bread ½ pat butter or cheese 1 bowl cereal (no milk or sugar)

Dodd observes that's rather a slim diet. And it remains just about the same —day after day.

NOTES.—Asked by a photographer, while he snapped an action picture, to "say something," Bilbo, apparently unconsciously, repeated an obscene reference to Russia—automatically, unthinkingly, by rote, four times. . . . Senator White had a press conference after the GOP parley last week and Taft stayed along as observer; after five minutes Taft was answering all the questions and White, the so-called "majority leader," had quietly departed, symptomatic of their future roles. . . . We wish Senator White (69) and genial House Leader Joe Martin (62) would drop the "junior" after their names, though a conversation with each calling the other "junior" would be something to hear. Maybe there is an elusive symbolism in "junior" for the rejuvenated GOP.

The purpose of the selection of the distinguished civilian Committee on Civil Rights by Attorney General Tom Clark is to support his drive for legislation broadening the government's power to intervene in state civil-rights cases. If a lynching mob has a federal official in it, the government can now intervene; otherwise it often can't. It's about as sensible as asking whether one of the lynchers wore a red necktie. . . . The CIO strategy of tying wages to profits opens the way for a big, new "open-the-books" row, like Reuther's last spring with GM. . . . Recession fears are reducing fur prices; there's a bear market in minks.

Washington T. R. B.

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Sick and Tired of Doubling Up

by Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr.

Prefabricated excuses tie up American productive genius while three million veterans need homes

THE UNITED STATES has flopped on its first postwar assignment. When the veteran was in uniform, American ingenuity concocted the jeep, the bazooka, even soda fountains on battlewagons. Now the uniform is off and so is our genius. A grateful nation is stumped to put a roof over the heads of its veterans.

The GI is sore, and you can't blame him. Listen to an ex-Army sergeant: "I could stand living with my mother-in-law for the first year after I came back home. But, with the baby on the way, and the only place we can find renting for $100 a month, I'm fed up and disgusted. I can't take much more of it. I say to hell with the stalling. I'm ready to fight."

It will be a cold, cold winter for this and thousands of other veterans. Here is what one writes me: "We live in this four-room cellar, three families with four children. Each couple has a room to themselves and puts all the kids together in the fourth room. That was OK until last week the coal stove broke down. . . ." Can you blame him for feeling that the country he fought for is breaking down too?

"Things will be bad for a while, and then—they're going to be worse." So ran a pessimistic crack of wartime front lines. Now, at the very moment when veterans are facing their bitterest winter since the Battle of the Bulge, the housing situation is more frustrating than ever.

Wilson Wyatt, the veterans' best friend in housing, has resigned in disgust. The incoming Republican Congress is threatening to slash taxes and curtail government spending. The drive to abandon rent controls and defeat the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill has already begun. The fight for homes for homeless veterans is fast turning into a rout.

The battle began bravely. Wilson Wyatt's Veterans' Emergency Housing Program recognized the crisis nature of the situation. He attacked with emergency weapons—to break the building-material bottleneck, to convert temporary wartime shelter, to move whole villages to new towns.

Wyatt set a goal of 1.2 million new housing units in 1946 and 1.5 million in 1947. To meet that goal he had to have extraordinary powers. He needed ceilings on the purchase price of new homes; priorities on scarce materials; restrictions on non-residential, commercial and industrial building; premium payments to encourage the production of materials in short supply; 100-percent mortgage insurance for rental housing; guaranteed markets for the producers of manufactured and prefabricated houses. Reluctantly, the 79th Congress gave him some, but not all, of the help he had asked for.

Before he was forced out, Wyatt had started construction on nearly 900,000 units of his 2.7 million goal. But only 50.1 percent sold for under $7,500, top figure for the pocketbooks of most veterans. Only 34.6 percent of the units for rent were under $50 a month. Low cost housing, the real need of the veteran, was still only a blueprint.

Wyatt built more homes than our nation had produced in any single 12 month period for the past 20 years. He built them over the dead bodies of other government agencies, the real estate lobby, high Administration advisers. For all that, his program had scarcely driven the first nail to provide shelter for more than three million homeless veterans.

Now Wyatt is out, and the emergency approach to veterans' housing is ended. "Business-as-usual" will take over the job. A long memory is not required to recollect what this kind of thinking means to the veteran's dream of a home of his own.

The Roof Blows Off

FROM October, 1945, till March, 1946 there were no controls over non-residential building. Business went on as usual. A race-track owner could outbid a veteran for any scarce item of building material. Store fronts, juke joints, night clubs went up. Veterans' housing stayed down.

Even after controls were put on non-residential building, the business-as-usual Civilian Production Administration channeled materials into industrial construction. A huge black market in building materials developed. Critical items were siphoned away from veterans' construction sites. Not until late August did home building finally catch up with supposedly curtailed non-residential construction.

Meanwhile prices zoomed through the open roof. A house which sold for $5,800 in 1941, now sold for $11,500. The proponents of business-as-usual forced the abandonment of ceilings on many building items. Wyatt upped the price of his basic dwelling from $6,500 to $7,500.

When, on November 9, President Truman decontrolled all building materials, business-as-usual had won. The National Housing Agency could still order

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Thirty-two-year-old Franklin D. Roosevelt Jr. is a member of the law firm of Poletti, Diamond, Rabin, Freidin and Mackay, and chairman of the National Housing Committee of the American Veterans' Committee.

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prevent a manufacturer from holding his product off the market until the price had soared beyond the veterans' ability to pay. In Pittsburgh, the week after decontrol, the price of building materials jumped 15 percent.

Who were the advocates of "back-to-normalcy"? The National Association of Real Estate Boards, the National Home and Property Owners' Foundation, the National Retail Lumber Dealers' Association and the Producers' Council were a few. They all demanded an end of the NHA and accused Wyatt of forcing veterans to mortgage their future beyond their means.

The construction industry had a theory of its own to handle the housing shortage. It was simple. Let the people in the upper brackets get the first chance to build the homes they could afford. When they moved out of their old houses, let the less fortunate move in. Under this "trickle-down" theory to encourage high-cost building, the US building industry had gone boom-bust before. And the end of the waiting list never had a chance at even the cast-offs. The "trickle-down" crowd has the upper hand in Washington today. The veterans who got the latest weapons for fighting are expected to accept hand-me-downs for living. A clean, new apartment, at a price the veteran can afford, is so big an idea that it overtaxes the brain of US business.

Dooming the Prefabs

WYATT'S last gasp was to submit to a program calling for government financing of prefabricated, low-cost housing and 100-percent underwriting of cheap-rental housing. The President turned both ideas down cold.

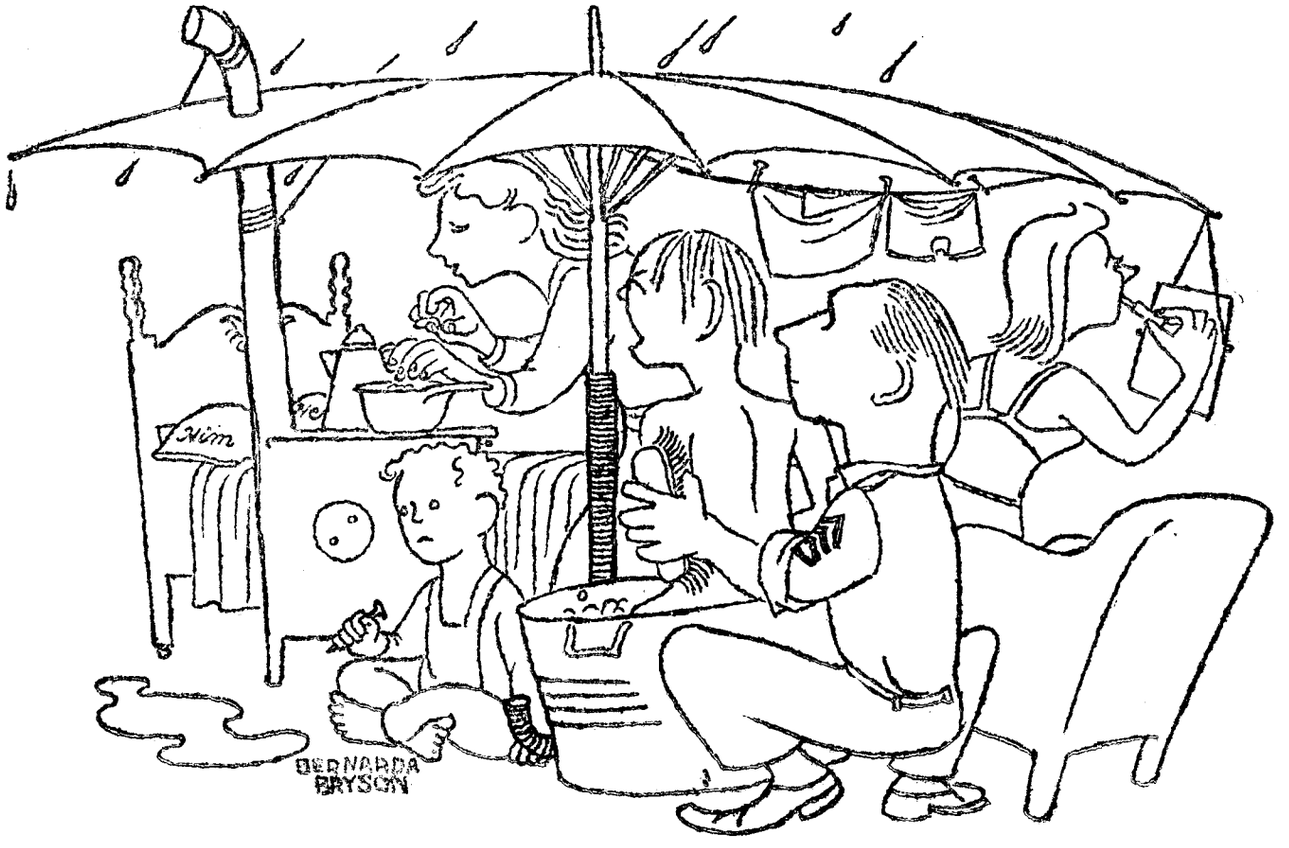
The prefabricated industry has been a favorite target for conventional builders. Prefabs would revolutionize US housing, and the "trickle-down" boys are not revolutionists. The average prefabricated home is not only modern, but sells for one-third less than the conventional dwelling of equal size.

Real-estate and conventional building interests have gone to extreme lengths to keep prefabs out of the picture. In every city in the country, old-fashioned building codes and ordinances block their use. Craft unions have refused to install wiring, plumbing and other facilities. "It can't be done," cries the nation which invented the Superfort.

It is now up to the 80th Congress to think of something better. The prospects are not bright. It seems likely that the GOP majority may fritter away time telling the Truman Administration what it did wrong in 1946 instead of finding a housing solution for 1947.

For veterans who cannot afford luxury homes, the best hope is early passage of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, which died in the 79th Congress. As originally drafted, the W-E-T bill provided for large-scale slum clearance and low-cost housing. It plans for 15 million housing units during the next 10 years. It would make the NHA a permanent organization, ease building credit, encourage investors to enter the low-cost-housing field, assist communities in building and operating 500,000 units of low-rent public housing every year.

Senator Taft has announced that he will again endorse the measure. But he is likely to encounter stiff opposition within his own party. The key House Republican will be Michigan's Jesse Wolcott, new chairman of the Banking and Currency Committee.



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Wolcott's record on veterans' housing tells us what to expect. In the 79th Congress, he was a principal opponent of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. He voted against price ceilings on the sale of old and new dwellings and fought the premium subsidy to accelerate the production of building materials.

Now Wolcott will try to substitute his own version of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft proposals. His jerry-built project would abolish the NHA and invest government funds in local building and loan associations, traditionally opposed to low-cost construction. His chief aim is to remove the government from the home-building field. In other words, he would return the housing problem to the private interests which created it.

In the next Congress Wolcott's bill will be a moderate proposal. Spearheaded by the Chamber of Commerce of the US and the Building Products Institute (an organization created to kick the foundations from under a progressive housing program), legislation will be introduced to liquidate existing federal agencies. The Institute favors a loosely knit board to "coördinate" all housing activities of the federal government.

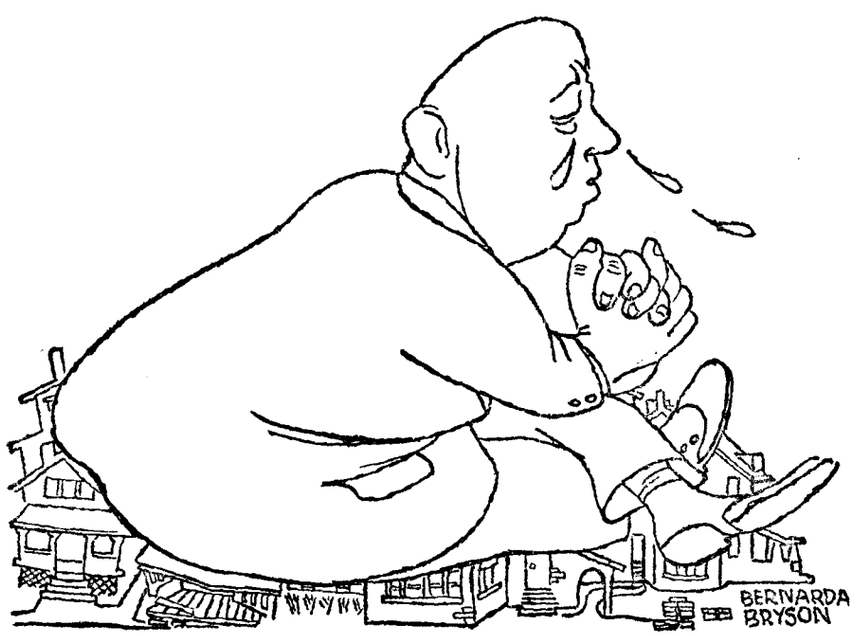
There is real danger that Congress will stall until the savings of veterans have been so depleted that poverty will put them completely out of the housing market. Then the business-as-usual groups can say: "Where is the housing shortage now?"

The hopes for new housing are dim enough. But rent controls over existing, inadequate shelter are already wobbling. In Atlantic City last month, the National Association of Real Estate Boards urged an immediate 15-percent increase in rents and the eventual elimination of all controls.

The drive to abolish rent control is the most shameful campaign the special-interest crowd has yet foisted upon the American public. They omit to mention that the operating income for large apartment owners has increased 46 percent since 1939, while expenses have increased only six percent. They gloss over the fact that the net operating income for small-home operators has risen 25 percent. Loss through vacancy has virtually disappeared. Repairs have been kept to an absolute minimum. The OPA granted relief to 900,000 landlords who could show real hardship. Some 20,000 more per month have been seeking concessions—and getting them.

To abandon rent-control laws now would boost all rentals from 15 to 50 percent. The veterans cannot afford it. They are already spending over one-third of their income for rent. Every increase in that proportion will have to come out of the essentials of decent living.

Among veterans' organizations, the American Veterans' Committee, AMVETS and the Veterans of Foreign Wars have all endorsed the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. But the VFW National Commander-in-Chief, Louis Starr has reversed the support voted in the VFW's Boston convention—explaining that his convention "did not know what it was doing" because the "acoustics were bad." As for the American Legion it has had no trouble at all in hearing—when it comes to the pleas of real-estate interests. It has condoned the end of the Veterans' Emergency Housing Program and decided that "it would be a mistake to reintroduce the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill."



The Battle Is On

BUSINESS-AS-USUAL is on the march. But there is no business-as-usual in the minds of veterans, whose average income is $48 a week and who need and expect a place to live for a reasonable price. The country is out of step if it cannot keep pace with the bare shelter requirements of more than three million veterans.

As National Housing Chairman of the American Veterans' Committee, I can promise a vigorous program on the part of the AVC to maintain rent controls, to pass the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill and to press for renewed vigor in government aid to housing.

Selfish private interests have blunted the weapons of battle on the housing front. The veteran is at a disadvantage in fighting an enemy he cannot see. But he is in a mood to fight, because he is fighting for his life, the kind of life he was promised when he was given the weapons of war.

The alternatives are now squarely before the American people: We must now use the power of government and pool all its resources to provide the veteran with a home—or we must run the risk of pitting veteran against non-veteran in a mad scramble for the necessities of living.

The latter course will surely lead to bitterness and disillusion, distress and danger. It will open wounds that may never heal in our time. The nation cannot turn its back on the homeless veteran. It must not admit that the challenge of peace is too formidable for a nation which so victoriously met the test of war.

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No Holds Barred in Palestine

by Morris Brilliant

TO A PALESTINE CORRESPONDENT, the average American's picture of a bleeding, groggy Jewish community taking a beating from the British and being terrorized by the Arabs is completely out of focus. In Palestine, some Jews have taken severe economic blows as a result of the British-imposed curfews and requisitioning. There are a number of discouraged Jews, but the overwhelming feeling is one of bitterness. These Jews are far from beaten.

Not long ago, a British army colonel, inspecting the military base under his command in a remote part of southern Palestine, found two young Jews hunched over the engine of a staff car. Into his mind flashed a picture of the ruins of the King David Hotel in Jerusalem. He ran for the sentry post at the gate to call the guards.

It turned out that the two men were mechanics hired for a repair job, but the commanding officer was still uneasy. "Pay them a day's wages and send them home," he ordered. "I don't want this place blown up."

This is an example of how jittery the British in Palestine get. They feel insecure even in their own heavily guarded camps. A soldier can never be certain whether the kilted Scot sitting opposite him at mess or the swarthy Arab peasant who serves drinks in the canteen is what he appears to be.

So effective are the underground organizations that the British headquarters and office buildings are surrounded by barbed wire and guarded by nervous sentries who shoot at shadows in the night. The Jews have dubbed these armed camps "Bevingrads," after the British Foreign Secretary whom they hold responsible for the rejection of the Anglo-American Committee's unanimous recommendation for the immediate admission of 100,000 homeless Jews into Palestine. The British forces in Palestine include soldiers, sailors and the Palestine police, recruited for the job of keeping order in the Holy Land. So much power has been entrusted to these British forces that the mere word of a police constable or army private is enough to imprison a Jew without trial. As for the Palestine police, they wear ordinary British-army uniforms with a special shoulder badge; they also have uniforms of their own. They are so afraid of Jewish terrorists that when they go off duty they remove their identifying insignia, hoping to be mistaken for ordinary British Tommies, who are not so much hated by the Jews of Palestine.

Many of the British police enlisted just as the war against Germany was drawing to a close. They had been soldiers in the Middle East Forces and were due to be shipped to Burma to carry on against the Japanese. Policing Palestine seemed a safe, quiet alternative. But now they find that their friends who had gone to Burma are back in England, and their own lives are still in constant danger. Furthermore, many of the more intelligent find their Palestine duties distasteful.

Court statistics show a large increase in the number of petty offenses by British policemen; that many have deliberately committed crimes so they might be convicted and receive the dishonorable discharge which inevitably follows.

The general morale of the soldiers is low, particularly in the Sixth Airborne Division, which garrisons southern Palestine, including Tel Aviv. These troops wear the proud scarlet berets of the famous "Red Devils," who did great work in the final push against Germany. But they stuff their distinguishing hats in their pockets when they enter Jewish neighborhoods. The "Red Devils" have a veritable Levantine blood feud with Jewish extremists, arising from the initial operation in Tel Aviv when they fired into a Jewish crowd at a demonstration and killed a number of children. Ever since, Jews have called them "Kalanioth" (Hebrew for poppies), "because they have red hats and black hearts."

The contemporary "Red Devils" are not the veterans who spelled terror for Nazi troops in their last stand, but mostly raw recruits from England who had never heard a shot fired in anger before they reached Palestine. Few campaign ribbons decorate their chests. They have never been told what all the trouble in Palestine is about. They don't know why they have incurred the hatred of the Jews. In letters home, they admit that they are miserable and homesick.

Demoralization is not confined to the rank and file. Senior British civil, police and military officials who said goodbye to me on my departure for the United States all said: "We envy you."

The Jewish Underground

IN THE bitter struggle between the underground and the British, it is the Jews who usually give the cue. The element of surprise is on their side. Not only have they found the answer to most of the measures adopted by the British, but they have made them boomerang.

A few weeks ago, the authorities announced the lifting of the dusk-to-dawn curfew on the roads. The curfew had been designed to immobilize the Jewish underground at night. Its lifting did not follow a letdown in the amount of violence. On the contrary. In the pre-

The author, an American, is a correspondent for the Palestine Post *and the United Press.*

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vious month, the Irgun Zvai Leumi, second largest underground group, had mined the roads every night when Jewish vehicles were curfew bound and the British had the highways to themselves. It cost the British a heavy toll in lives and equipment before they abolished the curfew.

As a further step purportedly to "restore normality," the British recently canceled the order requiring troops to carry weapons when off duty. That order had not improved the security situation in the least. It was the other way around. The extremist Stern Gang, comparing themselves to partisans in occupied countries and the British to the intruders, had held that an armed Briton, by his mere presence in Palestine, was hostile to the Jews and was to be shot regardless of whether he is a "good Englishman or a bad one." A number of British troops were killed and wounded. The British finally revoked the order and disarmed their men.

Why the British Fail

BECAUSE the Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Sternists are so secretive, the British have had little success against them. They attributed their failure to the non-coöperation by the Jewish public and turned against the more vulnerable Haganah, which includes almost every adult Jew in Palestine and has cells in every town and village.

An open clash between the Haganah and the British army would be uneven. The Jews are not blind to this fact and are not yet ready for suicide. When superior British forces raid their villages, the inhabitants offer only passive resistance and keep their weapons in hiding. The only chance for the British to liquidate the Haganah would be to provoke the Jews into engaging in an open fight. Meanwhile, units of the Palmach, the Haganah's striking force, continue to hit out unexpectedly and land refugee ships on the beaches or demolish naval craft, coast-guard and radar stations and other objectives vital to the British in their hunt for refugees. The British are unable to cope with such tactics. So the demoralized Tommies, unable to come to grips with the extremists, take it out on the innocent. Civilians are assaulted. Property is looted and destroyed. One indiscriminate attack had as its victim Robert Bigio, a visiting correspondent of the Reuter's News Agency, who was beaten within an inch of his life as he confidently strolled the streets of Jerusalem armed with a government-issued curfew pass.

Another thing which exasperates the British is the failure of their surprise forays on Jewish underground arms dumps. They use modern automatic detectors when they comb these fields for buried arsenals, but rarely have any luck. I once asked a British intelligence officer why.

"Quite simple," he stated. "The detectors work to a depth of three feet. The Jews bury their arms four feet deep."

Once the British succeeded in making a large seizure of weapons. At the Yagour Collective Farm near Haifa, they seized hundreds of rifles, machine guns, grenades, mortars and other arms from underground caches. A Jewish renegade had turned informer.

But the seizure, the largest ever made in Palestine, did not encourage the Tommies. They knew that 24 other alleged Haganah strongholds had been searched that day, and no other arms found.

And the Arabs asked: "If Yagour (population 1,200) has so much, how much does Tel Aviv (population 180,000) have?"

The Arabs Don't Fight

THE seizure at Yagour gave the Arabs a healthy respect for the Haganah. They had hitherto watched the British-Jewish struggle as blissfully detached observers.

Muhamad Hawari, the chief of Staff of the Arab para-military organization, Nejada, hastened to proclaim: "The Nejada is not anti-Jewish." This was taken in Palestine with a grain of salt, but it seems clear that the Nejada is not eager to tangle with the Jews.

When an inflammatory speech by a Moslem agitator in a Jaffa mosque created the danger of an incited mob marching on neighboring Tel Aviv, Hawari posted Nejada guards on the boundaries of the abutting cities to turn the Arabs back.

It is now conceded by the Arabs that without outside help they could not stand up against the Jews. Extremists who follow the fascist-minded Haj Amin el Husseini, deposed Grand Mufti now in exile in Egypt, had been agitating for riots but have cooled off.

The Stern Gang

IT IS not that these politicians and agitators fear the Haganah so much. They would be prepared to lose the first round, hoping that the Moslem bloodletting would draw the Arab world into the struggle. But what frightens them is the Stern Gang, the extremists who single out alleged enemies of their cause for assassination. Their vengeance has extended even to Cairo to murder the British Minister in the Middle East, Lord Moyne. The Sternists include a number of Levantine Jews who are able to move freely among Arabs in Arab dress.

But it is the audacious Irgun Zvai Leumi which has most captured the imagination of the Arab masses. Their operations are the most spectacular and brazen. In Jerusalem, Irgun Zvai Leumi raiders wounded in an attack upon police headquarters were hidden by Arabs in their homes while the British searched high and low in the Jewish quarter for them. During a raid for arms upon a police fortress in the fashionable residential suburb of Ramat Gan, a raider of the Irgun Zvai Leumi was posted down the road to keep traffic out of the line of fire. An Arab motorist approached the Jew and gave him a pair of sunglasses. "Here," he said, "these will help you conceal your features."

After a raid on four British air bases where they left more than a score of heavy and medium bombers ablaze, raiders were given a warm welcome by Arab villagers whom they encountered on their withdrawal. It was a rainy day and, because of the road curfew, the Jews had to plod on foot across muddy fields. Arriving exhausted in an Arab village, they were offered water and shelter.

The young Jews and the Arab peasants sat side by side watching the huge blaze. "By Allah," said one of the elders, "this sight is good for the eyes."

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Should We Have A Third Party?

by Harry W. Schacter

I. A well-known liberal states the case for the affirmative

THE TWO major political parties are reducing themselves to an absurdity. The Democratic Party includes in its ranks both Claude Pepper and Senator Bilbo. The Republican Party finds room for Senator Aiken and Senator Bricker. News photographs show Democrat John Rankin cheering the dismissal of Democrat Henry Wallace from the post of Secretary of Commerce. Two and a half years ago, the old-guard Republicans were equally delighted by the elimination of fellow Republican Wendell Willkie from the national political scene.

Along with the intra-party strife, the voters see the reactionary Democrats of the South combining with the reactionary Republicans of the North to hold back progress. They watch this conservative coalition make substantial and frequent gains in Congress and they become more confused, cynical, apathetic and defeatist than ever. Both parties, they realize, try to be all things to all men. Neither succeeds. The liberal voter is forsaken. He has become a Displaced Person in American politics.

History reveals that American political parties have been most effective when they were most principled, when the issues could be clearly defined and the voters had a real choice. As soon as principle gave way to the struggle for patronage and power, party effectiveness declined. This is precisely what has happened today.

During the national campaign of 1944, for example, the Democratic Party of the city of Louisville invited the new national chairman, Robert Hannegan, to speak at a fish fry. Here was a young Lochinvar come out of the West, prepared—or so people thought—to outline the principles for which his party would fight during the campaign. Instead, the highlight of Hannegan's speech was a story of his days as precinct captain in St. Louis. His party had won the election, he related, and all 49 political jobs which were the spoils of victory had gone to 49 party workers.

This incident could be duplicated many times today in both parties. For they have strayed far from Edmund Burke's classic definition of party. "A party," said the English stateman, "is a body of men united for promoting by their joint endeavors the national interest upon some principle on which they are all agreed."

The time has come to reëxamine the situation and to start thinking about a realignment of the major political parties. If there is to be a realignment, and if the voters are to be given clear-cut principles on which to take sides, the following conditions must be met:

1. The attitude toward realignment must be changed from the present attitude of defeatism to one of fervent desire.
2. The effectiveness of the two major parties must be challenged; their venerable age alone does not entitle them to a blind faith from the voters.
3. A specific program of principles must be developed so that the new parties may divide irrevocably and the voters may make a clear choice.
4. Most important of all, a definite program of action must be developed to bring about the change. The program must be so clear that the people will know what they are starting and where they are going.

Those who oppose change on the grounds that "our forefathers opposed it before us" should remember that these same forefathers changed party names and realignments at least four times in the first 60 years of the Republic. And in between party changes, and at other times, there were such distinguished party-bolters as Lincoln, Horace Greeley, Theodore Roosevelt and, more recently, Henry Wallace from the Republicans; Van Buren, Tilden, William Cullen Bryant and, latterly, Wendell Willkie from the Democrats.

The Parties in the Past

HISTORICALLY, the development of the American political parties has been based on change. Party labels have changed to fit the basic and constant split between liberals and conservatives, between authority and progress.

By 1816, after the collapse of the Federalists, all parties were merged in Jefferson's Democratic-Republican Party. During this period, the voters grouped themselves around men rather than around parties. It was Andrew Jackson's election in 1828 that created the modern Democratic Party. His was a triumph of personal politics—but it was, at the same time, the beginning of a new political era based on the principle that the government should be of and by the people. Jackson's opposition came from the Whigs, who had also been formed from the Republican Party of the 1820's. But the Whigs lasted only 20 years and then made way for

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Harry W. Schacter, a leading Louisville, Kentucky, businessman, is a member of the Continuation Commission of the recent Chicago Conference of Progressives. His argument will be challenged in an early issue by Governor Ellis Arnall of Georgia.

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the rise of the modern Republican Party.

When the Republican Party emerged in 1856, the lines were drawn for the conflict over slavery, and the fourth and great period of the American party system began. The Democrats had already been in the political arena for 20 years. But the Republicans were young, aggressive, vigorous, liberal. Their leaders took a four-square stand against slavery. But the Democrats were hopelessly divided over the slavery issue. Their confusion permitted the election of Lincoln in 1860.

After the issues of slavery, secession and Civil War had been settled, the light went out in both political parties and for the next 20 years they deteriorated. In place of issues they appealed to tradition, to party prejudices and to party habit. They relied on their organization alone and on the desire of the "ins" to stay in, and of the "outs" to get in. Then, in the last decade of the nineteenth century, the Populist movement arose; but by the turn of the century America had settled back comfortably to its two-party system with no great issues at stake.

Liberalism and Reaction

IN THE twentieth century there have been, on the part of one of the major parties, three important reversions to political principle: Theodore Roosevelt's "Trust Busting"; Woodrow Wilson's "Square Deal"; and Franklin D. Roosevelt's "New Deal." Under Franklin Roosevelt a major political party once again tried to stand for principle—the basic principle of the primacy of human rights over property rights. Once again, a political party rallied to it a large majority of the American people. But even in the heyday of the New Deal, the conservative and reactionary elements in the Democratic Party were a drag on its progress. Roosevelt, with his political magic, was able to pull the load. With his death, "the glue that held the Democratic Party together dissolved."

Meanwhile the Republicans—except during the days of Theodore Roosevelt—had settled down as the party of conservatism and of reaction. Wendell Willkie saw that the GOP's main chance for success was to become more progressive. But his party supported him half-heartedly in the 1940 campaign, and four years later repudiated him. Today the Republicans have a liberal wing both inside and outside of Congress. But the voices of men like Morse, Stassen and La Follette of Indiana are comparatively feeble in party councils.

Today's Issues

OUR forefathers changed their political affiliation and destroyed political parties whenever they were moved to do so by principle. The great issues on which the two parties should divide seem to me to be the two issues on which Franklin D. Roosevelt so aroused the American people—the issue of human rights at home, and the issue of international coöperation abroad. If the parties were to divide completely on these two issues, the voters could have a clear choice. And around these issues, it would be comparatively simple to develop a basic program.

In fact such a program already exists. It was developed in Chicago in September, 1946, at a joint conference of the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts and Sciences, the NCPAC and the CIO-PAC. These groups, with their program of domestic reform and foreign coöperation, could become the rallying point for an inclusive and vital liberal movement in this country. A committee of 50 members of the Chicago Conference is to meet in Washington in January, and chairman Reinhold Niebuhr of the Union for Democratic Action has also called a meeting of 50 leading progressives. I propose that the leaders of both groups meet to explore their areas of agreement with the object of calling a conference of all important liberal groups and individuals.

Here is a possible program to follow:

1. Liberal farm groups, labor groups, business and professional groups should be represented at the conference to be called, and prominent liberals not representing organizations should be invited. The conference should be a cross section of progressive thought and belief.
2. The conference should form a "Committee for a People's Progressive Party" and should reach agreement on a program and a platform.
3. The committee should then proceed to weigh two possible courses:
   (a) Capturing the Democratic Party and changing its name.
   (b) The formation of a new national Progressive Party.
4. Should the committee take the former course, it would need to spend 1947 and 1948 working for the selection of liberal delegates to the Democratic National Convention of 1948.
5. If a liberal majority could be secured in the convention, that majority would be in a position to select liberal candidates to run on the Democratic ticket in 1948.
6. It would also be in a position to recommend that another convention meet in the spring of 1949 and change the name of the Democratic Party to "People's Progressive Party," or something similar.
7. The new Progressive Party should then issue a call to liberals on the Republican side to join them. Progressive Republicans who now are unwilling to leave their own party for an almost equally confused Democratic Party might respond to it in large numbers. Without its liberal wing, the Republican Party would be forced to admit its status as the conservative party of the country.
8. If, on the other hand, the liberals cannot secure a majority of delegates to the Democratic Convention in 1948 (and I do not believe they can), I think they should strike out and form a new Progressive Party of their own. It should be remembered that, while America has generally accepted the two-party system, third parties have played an important and constructive role. Even if a third party did not come into power immediately, it could give force and direction to one of the old parties and it could become the deciding factor in an election.

Great care should be taken, however, in the formation of a new party. Neither

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gal nor organizational difficulties can e minimized. Just to change the elec- on laws to permit a third party, would, n some states, be a major task. The Committee for a People's Progressive 'arty," having cast the die for a third arty, should spend 1947 and 1948 etting up an effective national state and ocal organiaztion. It should aim to or- anize all liberals in every state. These iberals should form the state-by-state ucleus of the new party. The organiza- ion must then be broken down on a ommunity basis to reach every ward nd precinct; for unless most of Amer- ca's 131,000 precincts can be organized, he new party will not get very far.

It will take time and it will take imitless energy to break through the ental habits of a century—the con- litioned reflexes that lead millions of Americans to vote Democratic or Re- ublican just because their fathers voted hat way. But the American people are ong on common sense. They will hoose change rather than meaningless radition, provided they have confidence n their leaders.

Having found leaders, the new party nust organize, educate and unite on a road basis. Liberals must include in heir ranks every shade of liberal opin- on, from the Right to the Left. Any ivision within the ranks will be fatal. A definite area of agreement must be ound and maintained. It is a sad com- entary that very often right-wing lib- rals fight left-wing liberals even more igorously than they fight conservatives nd reactionaries. It is this pitfall, more han any other, which has destroyed so many great liberal movements, and can o so again.

It is of paramount importance that iberals keep their eyes on the main ob- ective—to bring liberalism to power n the United States. Whenever a schism hreatens to develop, the new party must ocus again on that objective. The price f disunity among liberals is entrenched eaction in this country.

This, then, is a clear call to all lib- rals. Their present state of frustration nust come to an end. They must trans- ate liberalism into action. Their present ole as political Displaced Persons must ive way to active political citizenship. Once again they must belong!

The CIO Puts Its Case to the People

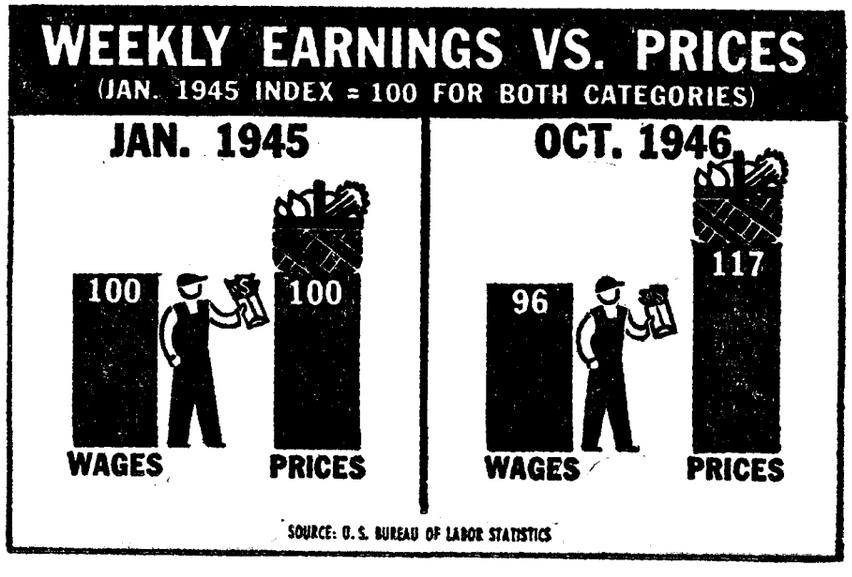
by Ruth Moore

The Nathan Report finds that American wages can go up twenty-five percent without higher prices

AS A BASIS FOR ASKING for a wage increase of approximately 20 percent this winter and next spring, the CIO has laid before the nation a study designed to demonstrate that "profit-rich" industry can easily afford such a rise in wages without a corresponding increase in prices. The CIO has also indicated that it hopes to make such a strong economic argument for wage increases that industry will be convinced, and will come to terms without long and costly strikes. Whether or not this proves to be wishful thinking, the study clearly is planned as an appeal to reason.

It was in line with this approach that Philip Murray, president of the CIO, asked Robert R. Nathan, one of the outstanding New Deal economists, now in private business as an economic consultant, to find out exactly where labor and business stand economically, and if business could afford to increase wages next year without increasing prices. The Nathan findings reaffirm the figures set forth in a similar report published a year ago only to be attacked by the whole conservative press. They run counter to the postwar price and wage policies pursued by business in general.

At the storm center is the major Nathan contention that business is wrong in insisting that wages cannot



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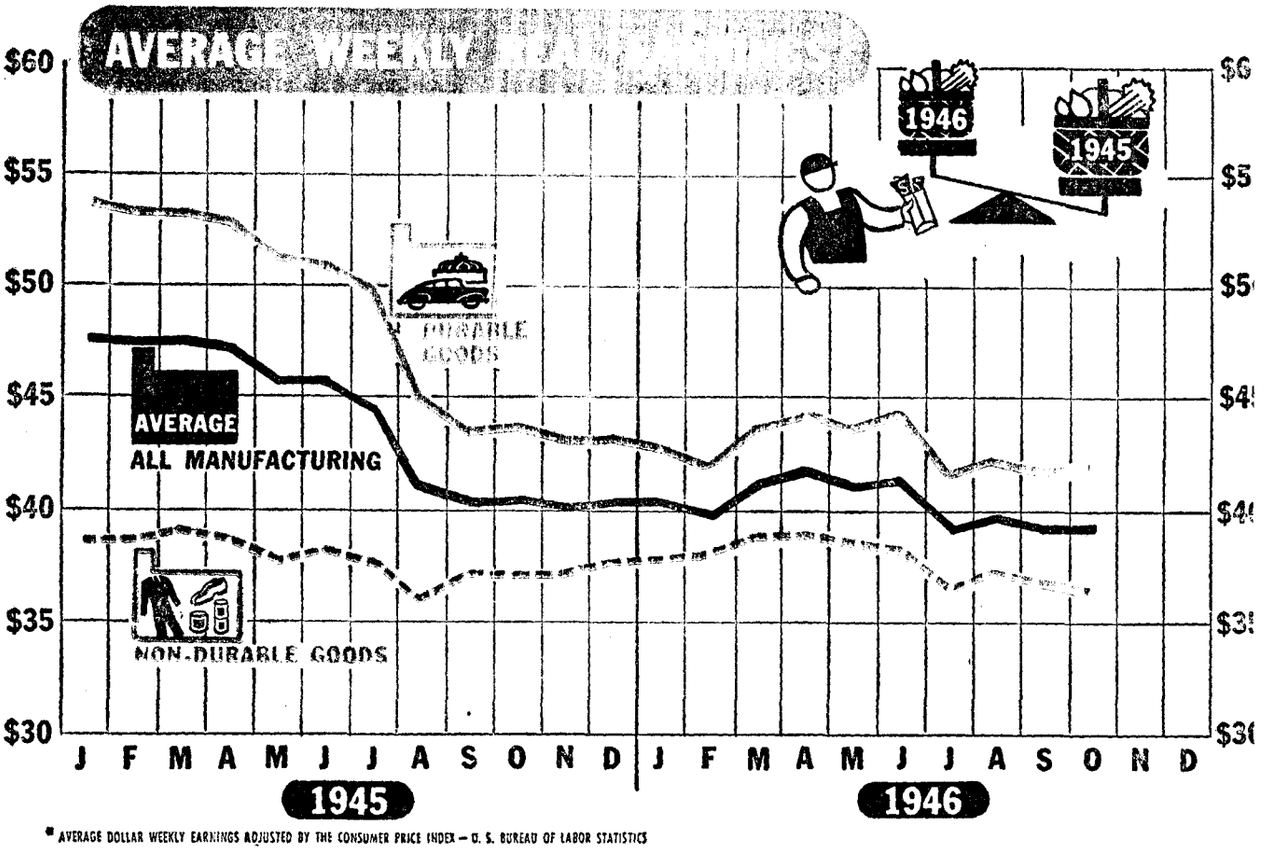

be raised unless prices also go up. Furthermore, Nathan maintains, business was in error this year in raising prices to offset wage increases.

To prove that business can well stand another wage increase, without a corresponding price increase, Nathan cites the following figures:

1. Corporate profits before taxes now are as high as "at the lushest period of war prosperity," and corporate profits after taxes are about 50 percent higher than at the war peak, and "utterly without earlier precedent in our national experience."

Profits before taxes have reached the $25-billion level, and are two and a half times the volume of profits in 1929 and five times the average 1936-39 profit volume. After taxes, profits are approaching $15 billion, fully one and a half times the best war year. "The economical and social consequences of such an unprecedentedly high volume of profits are of the highest import," the report comments. "They require the earnest consideration of the American people."

2. Corporate income has risen much more rapidly since 1939 than income from wages and salaries. After taxes are paid, corporate income today is up 183 percent, whereas private wages and salaries have increased only 150 percent.

3. In spite of the increase in corporation taxes since the late 1930's, corporate profits after taxes are now much higher in relation to sales than they were in the prewar period.

In 1936-39, all corporations earned an average return (after taxes) equal to 3.2 percent of the total value of their sales. In the last half of 1946, they will have a net return of about 5.8 percent on total sales.

If they had been willing to get along with their prewar returns on sales, Nathan says, they could have granted annual wage increases of around $11.25 billion.

4. Corporate profits are also high in relation to net worth, if that is the standard of measurement to be used.

In 1936-39, all corporations had a return on their net worth of 2.9 percent. In the last quarter of this year, the return will be 9.1 percent. The corporations could have granted wage increases of $5.1 billion and still have earne about twice their 1936-39 average profi and nearly as much as they earned the war peak.

"These calculations cast some light o the irresponsible assertions that the pric increases that have occurred durin 1946 were made necessary by wage in creases," Nathan states. "On the cor trary, there is every reason to conclud that—with exceptions in some few in dustries and firms—these wage increa could have been absorbed and a sati factory level of profits nevertheles maintained."

Figures Prove

UPON the basis of these figure Nathan finds that manufacturin industries could now give productio workers a 21-percent increase in pa without a price increase, without an further expansion in volume and with out reducing the return after taxes o net worth to a rate below that o 1936-39. Industry as a whole, he add easily could stand a 25-percent increas in wages on the same basis.

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Nathan also discusses the general position of the worker in the national economy. Seldom in history, he says, has there been such a change for the worse in the people's economic well-being as occurred when business "first pushed aside price controls and then raised prices rapidly in the face of already huge profits."

"Millions of low-income families find themselves priced out of the market," the report continues. "The demand for most types of goods is still very high because of the backlog of wants and high incomes . . . but these demands cannot form the basis of continuing prosperity. Long-term prosperity must be based on expanding mass buying power. It cannot be achieved by shrinking the buying power of workers in order that profits may rise far beyond reasonable and stable levels."

Nathan insists that never before has the national interest so clearly required a major general increase in real wage rates.

His reasons:

With overtime largely eliminated, with down-grading and other postwar changes, the average weekly earnings of production workers declined during the past two years. An average automobile worker who was making $59.42 a week in January, 1945, was taking home a pay check for only $53.12 in October, a loss of $6.30 a week. When the increase in living costs is taken into consideration, real incomes are down much more.

A 23-Percent Increase

TO BRING real earnings of manufacturing workers back to where they were in January, 1945, would require a 23-percent increase in wages in all manufacturing. In the automobile industry, wages would have to be boosted 28.4 percent; in steel, 25.7 percent; in electrical machinery, 17.6 percent.

While emphasizing the shrinkage in the pay check and real pay of the skilled worker, Nathan also calls attention to another "outstanding development in the earnings of labor in the last two years"—the pronounced tendency to pay higher wages to the traditionally lowest-paid workers. The Detroit auto worker lost ground after V-J Day, but cotton-mill hands, packing-house workers, canning-factory workers and others made more. Cotton workers, for example, went from about $13 a week in 1939 to $35 a week this fall.

Nathan's figures on the wage increase that would be required to bring real wages up to his 1945 par are likely to supply the clues to the increase which the various CIO unions will demand when bargaining for raises begins. The 23-percent figure is expected to be the key, but it will vary from industry to industry.

In estimating how much real wages have fallen since V-J Day, Nathan's figures closely match others previously worked out by the Office of War Mobilization and Reconversion, and set out in its last quarterly report to Congress.

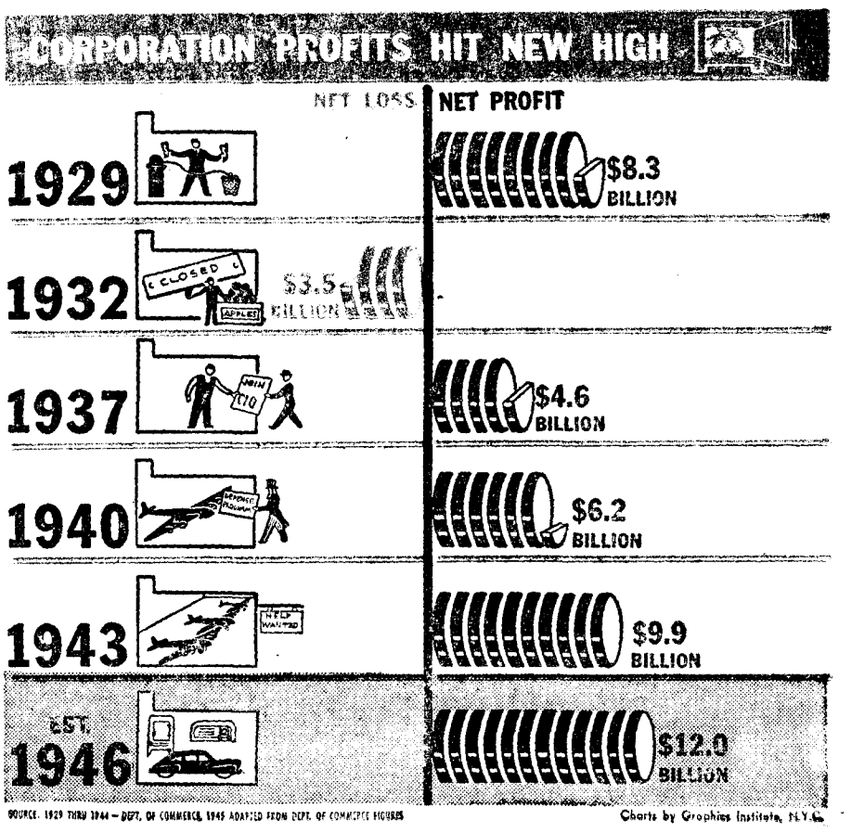
Although the whole case for higher wages is based on the premise that there must be no corresponding price boosts, the report does not say specifically why Nathan thinks such an outcome likely. It emphasizes that, regardless of profits, business in the past "short-sightedly raised prices again and again, taking all the market would bear."

In answering the questions of reporters, however, Nathan stuck out his jaw and softly expressed the hope that when business sees the full case against such a policy it may experience a change of heart. He adds that the timing of the coming wage demands would also have an effect. Since many prices already are "softening" and consumer resistance is mounting, Nathan thought that business might be unable to pass along the proposed increase in wages, and would have to absorb it.

The report proper has an answer for the contention of those who say that labor should not again rock the economic boat by asking for a second round of increases. It states that the present balance between wages and profits is unsound, and that if this continues the only result will be a severe depression.

"It would not do labor or the public or business any good to forgo the needed wage increases," Nathan concludes.

"Rather, raising wages without increasing prices appears to offer the only currently possible means of bringing about the kind of relationship that will avoid a serious decline in business activity."



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Henry Wallace's Forum

The UN and Disarmament

THE RATE of world disarmament is one of the most important measures of the success of the UN. As long as Russia has more than five million men under arms, as long as the United States makes atom bombs, and as long as Great Britain has her troops scattered all over the world, we shall know that the armament race is still on and that its cost will first crush the standard of living of the common man in every nation, and finally destroy civilization.

Russia really wants peace. She talks rough and takes extreme positions, but usually makes concessions. Russia made far more concessions in the recent Assembly meeting than the United States. The greatest single accomplishment in the history of the UN to date was the dramatic assent of the USSR, Great Britain and the United States to an effective international-inspection system, not only for atomic energy but for other weapons of mass destruction as well. The adoption of the United Nations resolution on arms may prove to have been one of the most important acts in all history.

The Russians have met us halfway. Why don't we step out now and meet them more than halfway? Count the bombs! Stop making the bombs! Offer to turn the bombs already made, and the supply of fissionable material out of which they can be made, over to an international tribunal so that the bombs can be kept in escrow here on United States soil until such time as the UN resolution on disarmament is given practical effect.

Nobody is asking that the secret of the atomic bomb be given to any nation until there is complete assurance of security, but the United States cannot hope to impress the world with its peaceful intentions as long as it continues to make bombs and to stockpile the stuff that goes into the bombs. The nation which produces half the income of the world and at the same time is stockpiling atomic bombs inevitably appears to the rest of the world potentially the greatest imperialist nation in history.

Right now we ought to let the world know how many bombs we have and how many we expect to have at the present rate of production by the end of 1947. The American taxpayer has a right to this information. He has spent billions of dollars building atomic bombs. Now that the United Nations resolution for disarmament has been adopted, we should impress the world with our willingness to broadcast not only information in regard to the stockpile of bombs but also in regard to potentialities of peacetime use.

In carrying out the provisions of the United Nations resolution on disarmament, the all-important work will be done by new commissions which will be set up by the Security Council. When the time comes, there will undoubtedly be extended debate about the powers and the composition of these commissions. Russia, America and the peoples of the world will undoubtedly want to be certain that no atomic-energy-inspection commission is dominated directly or indirectly by private interests. Those countries which have not yet developed in an extensive way their public-utilities systems will of course want to be represented on the commissions to make sure that the possible peacetime use of atomic energy is not sabotaged in the name of either science or security.

THE international situation today is unbelievably better than it seemed to be last summer. At that time various Anglo-Americans were waging a campaign against the Soviet, pointing to certain passages written by Lenin and Stalin which seemed to prove that the Communists were out to dominate the world by fair means or foul. The Russians, at the same time, were equally certain, on the basis of what appeared in our press, and the actions of our diplomats and our military men, that the Anglo-Americans would be satisfied with nothing less than world control. My frank speaking of last September and the international clamor aroused thereby may have helped to force the extremists on both sides to modify their positions.

Neither side was probably as tough as it pretended to be. Certainly the people of the USSR, the US and the UK have wanted peace at all times. The governments of these three nations have wanted peace, but no great nation easily gives up its hold on special privileges which enable it to get or to maintain present advantages without going to war. Far-sighted Englishmen increasingly feel that Britain is a junior partner of the United States and many of them are beginning to have the same suspicion of the United States that the French had of the British after the last war, or that the Russians have of the Anglo-Americans at the present time.

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While Roosevelt lived, one important international function of the United States was to furnish world leadership and mediate between the Soviet and England. Today the situation has been reversed and it may well prove that one of the most important functions of the left-wing labor leaders, or the so-called back-benchers in Parliament, is to mediate between the United States and Russia. These back-benchers are not Communists, as can readily be determined from the cable they sent me which appears on page 843 of this issue. These men are true progressives who understand the American ideal of freedom as well as the Russian desire to work out a program of planned abundance for their people. I am certain that forward-looking men of good will of the same type exist in France, in Scandinavia and in Czechoslovakia. Through these progressive Europeans I hope the progressives of the United States can act in trying to break down the iron curtain separating the East from the West which has been erected equally by Russia, the United States and Winston Churchill.

ENTHUSIASTIC as I am about the UN resolution on disarmament, I have no illusions that many of the fundamental causes of war have yet been removed. The basic understanding between the Anglo-Americans and the Soviets is still great. Demands on each side are still to be reconciled. The cost of permanent peace is very high and I am not at all certain that the governments of either Russia, England or the United States are yet willing to pay that price. Let me quote from an off-the-record conversation among Clemenceau, Woodrow Wilson and Lloyd George at Versailles:

> We must give up our empires and all hope of empire. . . . You English will have to come out of India, for example; we French shall have to come out of North Africa, and you Americans, Mr. President, you must get out of the Philippines and Puerto Rico and leave Cuba alone and—Mexico. Oh, we can all go to these and other countries, but as tourists, traders, travelers; we cannot any more govern them or exploit or have the inside track in them. We cannot possess the keys to trade routes and spheres of influence. And, yet, we shall have to tear down our tariff walls and open the whole world to free trade and traffic. Those are some of the costs of permanent peace; there are other sacrifices we, the dominant powers, would have to make. It is very expensive, peace. We French are willing, but are you willing to pay the price, all those costs of no more war in the world?

When Wilson and Lloyd George stalled, Clemenceau replied, "Then you don't mean peace. You mean war. And the time for us French to make war is now, when we have got one of our neighbors down; we shall finish him and get ready for—the next war."

Up until December 1, the recent Assembly was moving steadily in the direction of repeating another Versailles, and with it all the futilities of the old League, the rebuilding of Germany as an economic and military power, fake disarmament, power politics and finally war with Russia. Perhaps the change really started when Molotov came out with his original disarmament proposal. At that time it was fashionable in Anglo-American circles to question his good faith. But now it becomes apparent that Russia is probably even more interested in the barring of methods of mass destruction than either England or the United States.

AFTER the UN is on the road to real disarmament, the next problem will be to remove the fundamental causes of war. The only way to convince the Russians that the Anglo-Americans are not aggressive is to build up a mechanism whereby the standard of living of the peoples of the backward areas of the world can be increased in terms of their own satisfaction rather than on a basis of exploitation or of fitting into the needs of balance-of-power politics. The goal of the UN is to become a world federation, but that can never come to pass until the Anglo-Americans and the Russians understand each other, and the smaller nations and so-called backward peoples have lost their fear of imperialism and exploitation.

The smaller nations are beginning to feel as though they may count for more in the UN than they did in the old League. All psychologists know how important it is for an individual to feel that he belongs to something, that he is appreciated, that he counts. One of the root causes of war is removed when the small nations of the world and the so-called backward peoples can feel that they are not merely members of world society but that they can make their influence effectively felt from time to time. Psychologically speaking, victory of India against South Africa with the support of so many Latin American nations may prove in history almost as important as the adoption of the UN resolution on disarmament.

The plain people everywhere all over the world must continue to bring pressure to bear on their governments both to reduce armaments and prepare for peace. It was good internal as well as international politics when Molotov came out for peace. It will be equally good politics for our American delegation to become more aggressive in working for disarmament instead of allowing the Russians to get so much of the credit for leading the way.

The people have too long had too small a voice in foreign affairs in every nation of the world. War and disarmament are all-important to the common man. There will be no question about a strong UN and a peaceful outcome if progressives over the world speak out.

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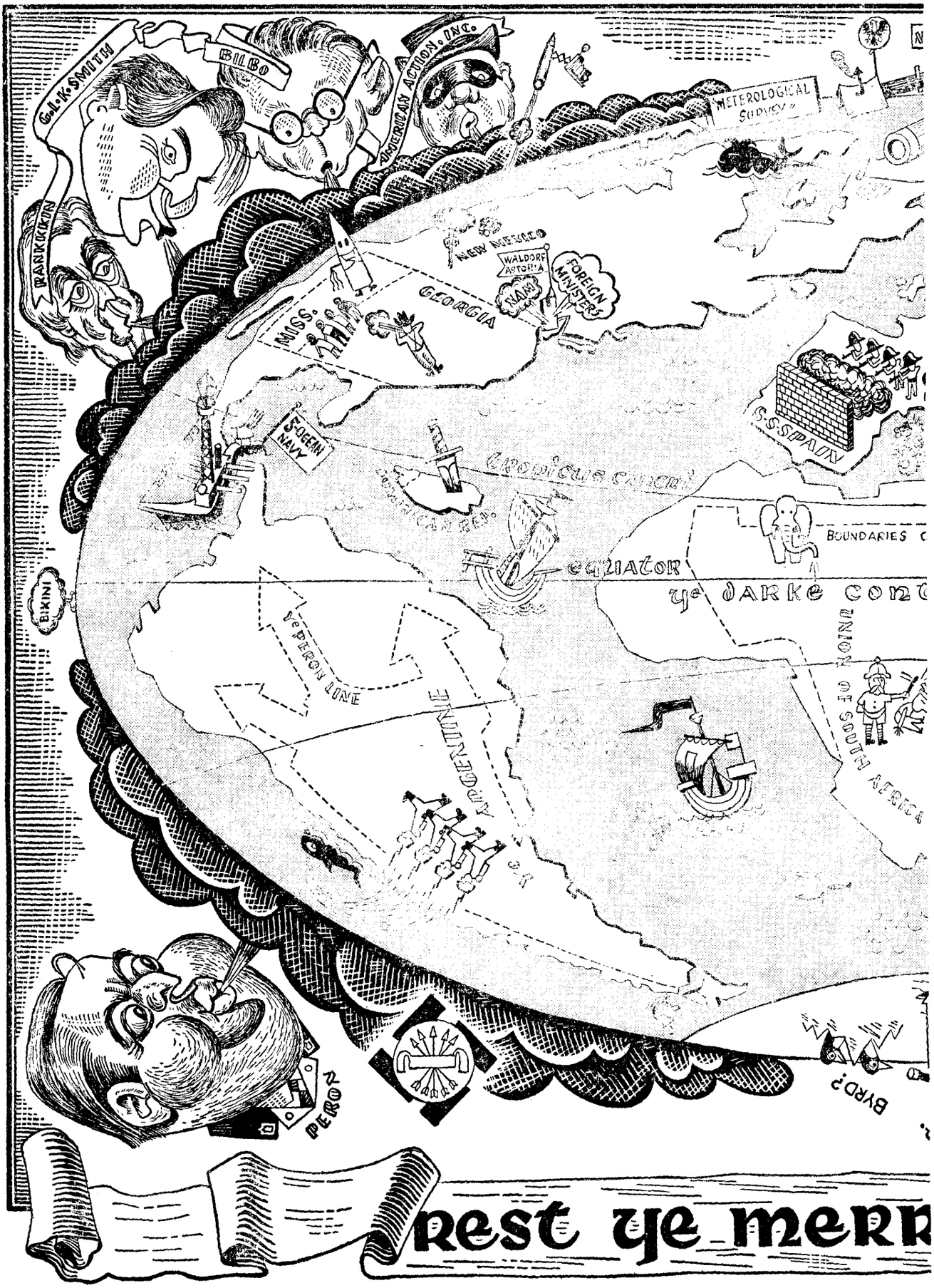

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Editorials

The First Assembly

THE SECOND HALF of the first session of the General Assembly of the United Nations drew to its close last week in a welter of projects in various stages of confusion and completion. Among the chief ones were:

The Big Four agreement to ban atomic bombs and other major war weapons, to reduce armies, to withdraw troops from foreign countries and to establish an international police force.

It was here, on the disarmament question, that use of the veto was challenged most seriously. There was never much question about its retention in the Security Council, but the United States, backed by the small powers, let Russia take the brunt of the veto fight on disarmament. The US did this knowing that our Senate would certainly support the Russian position—especially after Molotov had agreed that inspection, under some final elaborate atomic-control program, would not be subject to the veto.

Proposals for doing something about Franco Spain, which the United States and Great Britain were insisting should be so gentle as to do Franco no possible serious harm.

The issue of trusteeship over the former mandated territories, complicated by the grim determination of South Africa to keep control of the former German Southwest Africa, whether the United Nations liked it or not; and the equally grim determination of the United States to retain and fortify the Marshalls, Carolines and Marianas, whether or not the United Nations approved.

The Assembly surprised everyone by adopting a resolution for equality of political rights for women. It remained to be seen whether this would be a mere expression of pious hope or would have some practical effect in those vast sections of the world where the cultural lag makes it appear that full and free status for women is still decades or generations away.

The Assembly also acted on or considered a fistful of other matters: an international Bill of Rights; making genocide—the deliberate extermination of a whole race—an international crime; the continuing food shortage and what to do about it after UNRRA ends; the question of getting advisory opinions from the World Court; and economic reconstruction of the areas devastated in the war. The United States raised its ante on support of the United Nations to not quite 40 percent of its current expenses. Steps were taken to codify and develop international law in general.

THE END of the Assembly is a good moment at which to evaluate the progress of the United Nations as a whole. Will it survive and grow stronger? Or will it go like the League, about which people were more hopeful in 1921 than they are about the United Nations today?

Experienced observers at Lake Success and Flushing Meadow report that the atmosphere is substantially brighter than it was a few months ago. Then it was popular to say that the UN was only the shortened shadow of great-power amity; that everything depended upon the working out of harmonious relations between Russia and the West and, most of all, between Russia and the United States. This is still true; and part of the reason for the heightened optimism at the moment is the markedly more conciliatory attitude on numerous other matters which Russia has shown in recent weeks. There is no reason to believe that this attitude is the result of the Byrnes "get tough" policy; if anything, it is in spite of that policy.

The unanswered question is whether Russia's new spirit of conciliation has not itself been forced upon her in some degree by developments within the UN; whether the frantic pleas for instructions which presumably go back from New York to Moscow day by day have not included a large share of observations that the predetermined Russian line simply cannot be maintained before the sounding-board of world opinion, in the light of the inexorable logic developed in the course of the debate. It is a pity, and perhaps even a tragedy, that the American delegation contains the men who make top policy for the United States, and that they are not, like the Russian delegates, under the necessity of appealing to a higher authority for revision of the American line when it proves in practice simply not to make sense.

There is no doubt that such a thing as the pressure of world public opinion does exist and that no power on earth today is strong enough or sufficiently egocentric (in the Hitlerian sense) to be immune to it. It is not enough merely to point out that if the United Nations did not exist, Greece or Iran or Egypt would have nowhere to go with their charges against their neighbors or against the great powers. It is also true that, faced with the sharp, insistent challenge of New Zealand or Australia or Norway or Sweden, the spokesmen for Great Britain and Russia and the United States simply cannot draw about themselves the cloak of haughty silence. Those countries which do not rigidly censor news reaching their own populations must think of repercussions upon public opinion at home; that is one reason why worldwide freedom of communication is so near the top of the list of pressing world problems.

A FACTOR of importance which is often overlooked is the development of international-mindedness among the experts, the technicians, who actually take the testimony, actually draft the documents, and play a far greater part in carving out the shape of the brave or unbrave new world than is generally recognized. In their dull, unpublicized conferences they, too, are often subjected to the irresistible logic of the facts. From them goes a stream of messages to the heads of delegations pleading for a more reasonable attitude, similar to the messages which go, or ought to go, from the heads of delegations to their governments at home. More than once, national policies have been altered by protests which began in the tiny, headwaters trickle of ideas

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from a group of experts sitting down to discuss a single problem, seemingly minute, seemingly far away.

It would be easy to overestimate the importance of this change of attitude of the experts and the permanent staff. We saw the same thing happen at Geneva in the twenties and it was of no final avail against the bungling and ill will of the bureaucrats in the Foreign Offices all over the world who finally and needlessly bungled themselves into the Second World War. International-mindedness at the operational level is not enough. We need, beyond that, national legislatures and national regimes which care more about peace than they do about immediate national advantage. We haven't yet got them. To get them is the paramount task of the decades ahead.

Part-Time Experts

THE MCMAHON-DOUGLAS ACT backstopped a full-time Atomic Energy Commission with a part-time General Advisory Committee of nine civilian members. The part-time consultants were "to advise the Commission on scientific and technical matters relating to materials, production and research and development."

The part-time committee was a concession to legislators who argued that the public service, with its limited financial rewards, could not obtain the full-time services of top-notch scientists, much less those of the high-priced engineers of industry. Apart from the question of divided interests, part-time aides have usually been more conservative than permanent civil servants.

The President last week appointed nine well known scientists and scientist administrators to the General Advisory Committee. Included in the group were James Bryant Conant, president of Harvard and at one time a practising chemist; Lee A. Du Bridge, president of the California Institute of Technology, physicist and former director of the Radiation Laboratories at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; two Nobel prize-winners in physics, Enrico Fermi of the University of Chicago and I. I. Rabi of Columbia; J. Robert Oppenheimer, professor of Physics at the California Institute of Technology and wartime director of the Los Alamos Laboratories of the Manhattan District Project; Hartley Rowe, vice-president and chief engineer of the United Fruit Company; Hood Worthington, chemical engineer for duPont.

The committee members—who are to receive $50 a day and expenses for attending meetings and conferences—are, with a few exceptions, noted more for their professional competence than for their progressive views on the broader aspects and implications of the domestic control of atomic energy. Oppenheimer was a member of the Lilienthal group of consultants on international control; Conant has throughout been an Administration adviser in the same field.

The Atomic Energy Commission is supposed to possess sole responsibility for policy making. Advocates of strong civilian control will be watching to see if the Advisory Committee, by virtue of its eminent membership, tries to encroach on the Commission's assigned authority.

Word Against Deed

THE PROBLEM of Spain has been debated in the Economic and Social Council, in the Security Council and in the General Assembly. Everyone has agreed that Franco is an evil force placed in power with the aid of Hitler and Mussolini, committed to sabotage the Allied prosecution of the war and to protect German assets in Spain. Everyone agrees that Franco heads a fascist government which has starved and persecuted the people of Spain. Yet the United States, aided by Britain, has consistently fought all measures which might succeed in removing an admitted enemy.

When the General Assembly opened here, hopes that action would be taken against Franco were high. Belgium, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Norway and Venezuela requested that Spain be put on the agenda and the Assembly's political committee was flooded with specific resolutions on how to handle Franco. The most important were the resolutions from Poland calling for a break in diplomatic and economic relations and the one from the US which barred Franco from UN activities but avoided any specific action to remove him.

The Polish and the US resolutions were eventually defeated and the Assembly settled on a compromise Belgian proposal which bars Spain from UN activities, requests the Security Council to look into the matter again if Franco doesn't leave and requests all member nations to recall their ambassadors and ministers plenipotentiary from Madrid.

No one supposes that this resolution will cause Franco to relinquish his powers. And since it is the avowed aim of the United Nations to get rid of Franco, the resolution may be considered a failure despite the fact that it is considerably stronger than anything the US wanted.

CREDIT for defeating stronger measures which gave greater hope for success goes to Senator Connally. He fought a diplomatic break on the grounds that it constituted "internal interference" in the affairs of Spain. He fought economic sanctions on the grounds that "the people who suffer will be the working people of Spain," even after the French delegation proposed that UN members merely refrain from purchasing the extensive exports of Spanish food which is badly needed in Spain. Connally even suggested that, no matter what anyone else did about diplomatic and economic action, the US would have no part of it. The US was even reluctant to debar Spain from the Provisional International Civil Aviation Organization of which she is a charter member—partly because of official State Department policy, partly because of pressure from TWA, whose lines regularly operate through Madrid.

In short, US policy has been based neither on collective security nor on a desire for successful elimination of Franco. It has been based on the fear that with Franco's downfall will come social upheaval in Spain. By delaying action against Franco we are supporting fascism abroad. We are making it abundantly clear to the Spanish people that our verbal support of collective security, successful international collaboration and a popular democracy is hollow hypocrisy as far as Spain is concerned.

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Taft: 20 Degrees Cooler Inside

by Carroll Kilpatrick

Senator Taft—second of a series on the GOP high command

IN CINCINNATI, where they have lived for three generations, the Tafts are known as a hearty and jovial family. All but Bob. You'd never guess from looking at him that he is the son of the easy-going, back-slapping, barrel-shaped William Howard Taft, our 27th President. Cincinnatians remember the time when they could see old Bill Taft standing at the bar in any one of the mellow German-speaking saloons on Vine Street, swilling beer with all comers. But they will never find Senator Robert A. Taft doing anything like that. He is the Taft who doesn't mix. Cautious, frosty and aloof, about the only place he frequents when in town is the exclusive Queen City Club. His home is in Indian Hill, an exclusive suburb outside Cincinnati.

Bob Taft doesn't even mix well with politicians. Although he dutifully drops in on Ninth Street Republican Headquarters every time he is back from Washington, the boys at the club do not seem to warm up to him. In human terms, they feel far more comfortable with the Senator's amiable young brother, Charles—even though Charley has upset them by his enthusiasm for local reform, while Robert has been one of the Regulars ever since he began. Robert Taft knows politics inside out and yet he is as clammy as Coolidge. Even so, Coolidge did not do too badly for himself. And there lies Taft's ambition: to be another Cal.

He has come pretty far along the road already. In 1940, only two years after he had made his entry into national politics, he almost won the Republican nomination for the presidency. Today, not yet half through his second term in the Senate, he is without question the foremost Republican on the Hill. He handpicked the obscure Brazilla Carroll Reece to be chairman of the Republican National Commitee. In the new Congress Taft will be chairman of the GOP Steering Committee, which meets weekly to map Republican strategy. He has already served notice that all party decisions must be cleared through him. He sees himself as a kind of Eisenhower, marshaling his forces for the grand attack. What is Bob Taft fighting for?

Or, better, what is he fighting against? His six-year record in the Senate is almost entirely one of saying "Nay." Taft has made a high art of obstructionism, the traditional function of an opposition. That may help explain his phenomenal rise: he is an essentially negative man who is brilliantly cast for the role of turning down ideas and enthusiasms. His sharp legal talent, his tireless industry and his obvious sincerity have made his performance seem more impressive with each session. As the Washington bromide has it, he has reached wrong decisions more ably—and more consistently—than any other man in the Senate.

The great nay-sayer's first speech in the Senate was against an appropriation for the TVA in 1939. Later that year he stood up to warn that "unless the whole present tendency of the government is redirected, we cannot long maintain financial solvency or free enterprise or even individual liberty in the United States."

Taft's record of feeble pushes against the incoming fog of World War II is a classic. France fell; Taft voted against conscription. The Battle of the Atlantic was on and Britain was groggy from Nazi submarine attacks; Taft voted against lend-lease and the transfer of 50 destroyers to the Royal Navy. The Nazis had overrun Europe, and Iceland and the Azores loomed as tempting next steps; Taft voted to limit the use of American troops to the Western Hemisphere. Pearl Harbor was four months away; Taft voted to limit the extension of the draft. Pearl Harbor was three months away; Taft voted against the second lend-lease appropriation. Pearl Harbor was one month away; Taft voted "no" on the arming of US merchant ships.

Taft's War Nays

THE Japanese attack and America's entry into war changed the Taft line very little. In 1943 he tried to push through an amendment which would have killed the reciprocal-trade treaties six months after the end of hostilities and headed the country back to the days of Hawley-Smoot tariffs. He ridiculed the Fulbright peace resolution. In 1945, he opposed the extension of the Reciprocal Trade Act. He opposed Bretton Woods. He did vote for ratification of the United Nations Charter (only two Senators voted against it), but a few months later he voted (along with six other die-hards) against a bill authorizing the United States to participate in the United Nations. In 1946, he opposed the loan to Britain and denounced the Nuremberg war-crimes trial as a "novel and hypocritical procedure."

What else is he against in foreign affairs? Actually, he says he is for the

Carroll Kilpatrick has been a Washington correspondent for the last five years.

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bipartisan policy of Byrnes and Vandenberg. He has offered some kind remarks about the United Nations. But his support sounds pretty lukewarm, for only two years ago he set forth as his creed that "the purpose of our foreign policy is to ensure freedom for the people of the United States, and prevent invasion of this country and foreign wars. . . . The ultimate purpose of our foreign policy is not to benefit other nations by spreading democracy or the four freedoms throughout the world." And if he is against our spreading democracy abroad, is there anything else Senator Taft would have us spread? How about loans? He looks at you with those large, cold, blue eyes and says, not government loans, no, but—"I do not mean to say that we should oppose a policy of private lending or private foreign investments, but it should be done by private capital because in that case it is far more likely to be done for sound economic reasons."

Facing Both Ways

AT ANY RATE, he is for that. So was Calvin Coolidge—with well known results.

Taft's friends, though, say that comparison with Coolidge is unfair. They insist that at heart he is a liberal. Yes, they admit, it is true that he was one of the Senate architects of the restrictive Case labor-disputes bill. True, also, he led the fights for the producer and commodity interests that wanted to take price controls off cotton, cottonseed, wheat products, livestock and poultry, milk and milk products and oil. True, he also supported the real-estate lobby's campaign to boost rents by 15 percent. True, it was his work that killed the OPA. And still his friends say he is a liberal.

Their argument rests on at least part of his record in two fields—labor legislation and public welfare. In both of these, his performance is curiously contradictory. Suppose we begin with the first:

In 1940, Taft surprised many observers when he broke with his party to vote for an administration-supported bill outlawing the use of strikebreakers and spies in labor disputes. (But a few years later he was back on the other side of the fence when he supported the Smith-Connally War Labor Disputes Act, which was passed over President Roosevelt's veto.) Then, in 1944, Taft surprised many people again when he sided with labor in voting against requiring unions to file financial statements. (But right after the war he opposed the emergency unemployment-compensation proposals that had labor's backing.) Then, crossing over once more, he supported a modified minimum-wage bill and fought against the "forced-labor" bill which Truman put forth at the time of the railroad strike. (But in the meantime he had jumped the fence again and helped draft the Case bill.)

On welfare legislation his record seems even more contradictory. In 1943, for example, he led the Senate fight against federal aid for education; but in 1946, he put his name on a modified federal-aid bill. Recently he bravely said that he wanted to "extend government aid to the lower-income groups—provide adequate housing, education, medical care and relief when needed"; but during the war he fought against an excess-profits tax and in its stead campaigned for a 10-percent federal sales tax which would have cut most heavily into low incomes. And when we come to his record on housing, we reach what looks like the department of utter confusion.

Flirtation with Housing

IN 1939, Taft wrote an amendment to halve an authorization for low-cost housing—but when his amendment failed, he voted for the bill nevertheless. In 1946, he refused to support the Wyatt plan for a guaranteed market for prefabricated houses—but he did support the Wyatt premium-payment plan to stimulate production. In the same year, he opposed the plan to put ceiling prices on existing homes—but on the other hand he sponsored the Wagner-Ellender-Taft housing bill, which the building lobby calls "socialistic."

What do you make of it? The solid people of Cincinnati were surprised when they found their native son tinkering with reform.

Some called it guile. Taft was obviously out to make himself attractive to the masses, dreaming of great things ahead. He has tried other means, too: he has had himself photographed (rather stiffly, to be sure) with livestock on his farm; he has joined the Elks; he has hired a press agent to humanize him; he has gone out in a boat off the Florida coast in order to have himself photographed with a game fish (someone else's fish, as it turned out).

And yet this does not quite explain Taft's momentary flirtations with what looks like liberalism. For whatever else Taft may be, he is not hypocritical. He does not have the imagination for that—or the humor. He is absolutely in earnest. He has a philosophy. Whatever he does—inconsistent as it may seem—springs from it.

Leave It to Bob

AS YOU piece that philosophy together out of his words and acts, it seems to run like this: the rich and well established deserve to run the country—but the poor deserve their charity. Those who have gotten ahead farthest know best what is good for the average man; their interest must be protected first—and from them blessings will then fall upon the rest beneath.

Among those who have gotten ahead farthest are the Tafts. There was grandfather Alphonse Taft, who made his pile out of the early growth of Cincinnati as a river port, and who became Attorney General in Grant's cabinet. There was uncle Charles Phelps Taft, who made still more money out of Cincinnati street-car franchises and real estate; there was father Taft, who spent a good deal of money but hit the jackpot of the presidency. Today, Taft money and influence are felt all through southern Ohio, and Senator Bob's own interests extend into corporation law, real estate, finance and the Cincinnati *Times-Star*. Bob Taft is looking after that kind of interest.

He first clearly showed his inclination when he entered the Ohio State Senate, 15 years ago. He did a remarkably skillful job there of cleaning up the finances of the state. But one couldn't

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ıelp noticing that in the course of re-
toring "stability" he advocated shifting
he main tax burden to the poor. Twelve
ears later, as United States Senator and
Republican sage, he was doing the same
hing when he resisted placing war-
ime limitations on high salaries and ex-
ess profits and declared that "the best
vay to reach the lower-income groups in
ı fair way is the sales tax." But, since
on further reflection this did seem
oretty tough on those down below, his
hilosophy of charity came to his aid.
Food, he said, should be exempt from
he sales tax—"because it seems to me
o provide that slight gradation and that
elief which is proper for those who are
n the very poorest income group."

Among his own party colleagues, Taft
stands with the extreme Right first and
ast. He is so suspicious of possible lib-
eral stirrings on the Republican side
hat he has decided to forgo the chair-
nanship of the powerful Finance Com-
mittee and to take on that of the less im-
portant Education and Labor Commit-
ee instead—chiefly in order to prevent
he liberal Senator Aiken of Vermont
from filling that post. In spite of the
flyer he took in housing legislation, his
program is strictly Back to Normalcy.
Taft can be counted upon to go about
balancing budgets and slashing gov-
ernment activities with a will—and his
talents are at their brightest when he can
find things to be against.

The Colonel Approves

AMONG the many things he is against is that of giving too much importance to his chief party rival, Senator Vandenberg. Minor friction has already developed between the two men, and Taft's party power is distinctly greater than that of the Senator from Michigan. To the extreme Right, on whom Taft leans, even Vandenberg looks suspiciously liberal. Meanwhile John W. Bricker, who leans even farther backward, fears that even Taft may be a bit too liberal. "Bob," he is reported to have complained, "is going too far to the Left." Yet there is no fear of that, really. Colonel McCormick, who keeps an eagle eye out for such things, has no use for Vandenberg, but he thinks the world of Taft.

A Letter from Bombay

by Edith Young

BOMBAY, under the interim Congress Party government, is full of surprises. The first one came at the dock when the customs official, after ignoring the undeclared extra 200 cigarettes tucked away with my dresses, made a thorough examination of my books. First, Blake's *Collected Works,* then V. Sackville-West's *The Edwardians* came under his suspicion. When he started leafing through my shipboard diary, keeping personal letters, I objected.

To my mild question whether he was officially interested in my personal mail, he came back with a stream of questions of his own. Why had I come to India? What work would I be doing in Bombay? Where and with whom was I staying? Then there were questions about an Indian girl who had been a fellow passenger on the liner from England. When I told him that I didn't know her and had never met her, the official for the first time seemed to be relieved about me and my possible dark purpose in coming to India.

The next day I read in one of the Bombay newspapers that the Indian girl had been a student in Europe, interested in modern educational methods. She had been taken to police headquarters for examination and her books had been confiscated. She was a member of the Indian Communist Party, which is consistently critical of Congress government policy.

My first introduction to the present clash between Hindus and Moslems took place a few days after my arrival. I asked a taxi-driver to take me to an address at Girgaum, a bazaar quarter; but he refused, saying that, being a Hindu, it was not safe for him to drive through a Moslem district. And similarly, a driver of a *ghari* refused to take me through the docks, because it meant entering a Hindu area. So there was nothing left for me to do but give up the idea or walk, for neither street cars nor buses were running. The local drivers were out on strike because one of their conductors had been stabbed the previous night. They refused to resume work until the authorities had provided them with police protection.

Because of the curfew, much of Bombay is as unnaturally silent at night as London used to be before an air-raid warning. Few of the movie houses remain open after six o'clock. Most of the restaurants are dismally empty. Businessmen complain that they are losing thousands of rupees a week, and blame the government for not taking sterner measures against the violators of the peace—"Hooligans," they call them. But the government is wary, the police are wary, and the army seems to ignore the rioting.

LIFE IN INDIA is full of strange contradictions. Recently, traffic in Bombay was paralyzed during the rush hour by a mass funeral procession marching solemnly through the main streets. Two factory workers had been killed in recent riots, and their comrades—both Hindu and Moslem—had laid aside their differences and united in paying homage

Edith Young is a British journalist now visiting India.

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to the dead. There are contradictions among Hindu attitudes, too. This was revealed recently in the contrast between Gandhi's and Pandit Nehru's approach to the outbreaks in Bihar. Gandhi threatened to starve himself to death if the Hindus did not immediately cease their persecution of the Moslem minority, while Nehru warned them that the air force and military would be called on to keep peace.

Certainly the situation has enormously improved, but whether as a result of the Mahatma's self-sacrifice or the threat of armed force, it is difficult to estimate. Most people here tend to give Gandhi the credit.

One of my chief complaints against the curfew restrictions in Bombay is that they keep me from seeing the performances staged by the Indian People's Theatre Association—a group that resembles both London's Unity Theatre and New York's Theatre Project. The Association, which is non-party, has staged progressive plays on current as well as classical subjects in most of the Indian languages; its productions in English include J. B. Priestley's "They Came to a City" and "Waiting for Lefty," by Clifford Odets. In most people's opinion, the best work of the Association's members is a movie called "Dharti Ke Lal" ("Children of the Earth"). It has no stars in the accepted sense, and its actors come from all over India, presenting mass scenes of peasants and workers. The story centers around the trials, joys and ancient customs of the peasants, and its theme is the suffering of these poverty-stricken heroes of the Indian soil who have made such a gallant struggle against overwhelmingly difficult circumstances. Above all, it deals with the greatest tragedy of India today—the Bengal famine.

As I write, a 60-mile gale is rioting through the city. I remember the shacks of the railway and dairy workers at the outskirts of the city—poor, flimsy homes, made from bamboo lathes covered with rags. Many of these shacks will lie flat before the storm is over. Once again—as so often before in India—countless human beings will be left without shelter from blazing sun or tropic rain.

Wet-Wash War in Chinatown

by Thomas Whiteside

NEW YORKERS LAST WEEK found themselves suddenly being held in the cold, clammy clasp of a wet-wash war. To the consternation of thousands of soiled citizens, the Chinese laundrymen declined temporarily the profit of washing their dirty linen. The Chinese called a strike—and, although a total tie-up has since been averted, the city was faced by its first great shopkeepers' shutdown.

People who dump the family wash on the front counter of their Chinese laundry usually delude themselves into thinking that the washing goes on in the further reaches of the back room. On the contrary, Chinese laundrymen seldom launder. They iron. They sort. They wrap. But they send the wash to one of the city's 11 power laundries.

Now the power laundries, mostly owned by wealthy Chinese, have raised their prices by a third. The Chinese laundrymen refuse to pass the increase on to the consumer. They accuse the power laundries of monopolistic practices restricting the freedom to wash. To protect themselves and the consumer, they went on strike. Until last Thursday, when arbitration was agreed to, the abacus beads which toted up the weekly wet-wash bills of half a million customers remained silent.

So Silent

TO GET facts in New York's Chinatown is a nerve-wracking business. The Chinese don't like to talk to outsiders about their affairs. In fact, they don't like to talk to outsiders at all.

Who owns the power laundries? Embarrassed silence. Not a Chinese laundryman knows. Even the *China Daily News*, generally regarded as the unofficial organ for the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance, the guild of the city's 4,000 hand laundries, never mentions the names of the power-laundry owners. Over the telephone, Benjamin Jaffe, the owners' attorney, talks willingly and at length of the high cost of soap, of labor, but he'd "rather not" mention the owners' names.

In a burst of frankness, one Chinese deep in the laundry business did admit he knew their names, but didn't go so far as to reveal them. He talked guardedly of the Tongs, the Chinese secret societies whose open warfare has died but whose influence remains. The Chinese laundrymen are known to be anti-Tong. It seems that two Tongs remain in New York. They run gambling and prostitution rings. It is reported that one of the Tongs here is operated by a Chinese professional gambler who is

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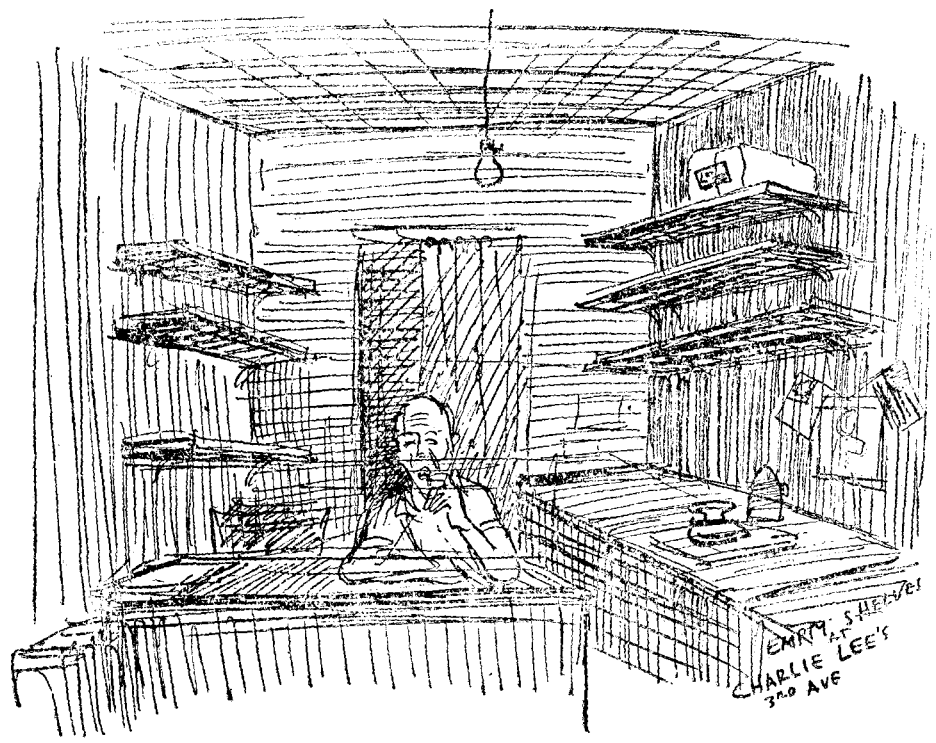

NOTHING ON THE SHELVES AND LITTLE IN THE CASH BOX UNDER THE COUNTER AT CHARLIE LEE'S LAUNDRY ON NEW YORK'S THIRD AVENUE

LAUNDRYMEN FOLLOW STRIKE NEWS IN CHINATOWN CAFE

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CUSTOMERS FIND SOMEONE TRYING TO KEEP PRICES DOWN

also a member of the Kuomintang's Central Committee. He is said to travel between China and the US on Kuomintang funds.

Plots and Pickets

HEADQUARTERS of the Chinese Hand Laundry Alliance may be found on Canal Street, in the vicinity of the New Light Lutheran Church, the name of which is announced in both English and Chinese. At the Alliance, Chu Tong, a cigar-smoking, cheery Chinese, is the adjutant in charge of public relations. Normally, he edits the *China Daily News,* and says that the strike gets top billing in the local Chinese press—page seven if you read backwards, page two if you don't. (Page eight [page one] is reserved for international news.) Chu Tong observes that the power laundries withdrew their ads to bring pressure on his paper, causing him to charge editorially the following day: "They did that because we exposed their secret plans and evil plot to control the hand laundries."

Until arbitration was agreed on, Tong had expected difficulty in getting the laundrymen to picket. The Chinese have no tradition of picketing and they feel rather awkward about patrolling with strike placards. Tong explained how the Alliance got under way, in 1933. At that time, the Chinese laundryman was the prey of gangsters who took full advantage of his meager knowledge of English and complicated city regulations. Corrupt officials would point to a defective light and threaten a long jail sentence unless the victim came across with a handsome bribe. If the Chinese refused and wound up in court, a clique of professional interpreters would soak him $50 or so for its services. Now, for $6 a year, the Alliance gives the laundrymen all the legal help they need and provides an interpreter for 25 cents.

The Long Shadow

WITH restaurants, the laundry business is the key industry of New York's Chinese people, who officially number about 20,000. (Nobody knows just what the actual population is—many Chinese simply disappear around census time.) The average Chinese laundryman now makes about $35 a week. For this, he works six, often seven, days a week and from 12 to 16 hours a day. He gets up at seven, opens at eight a. m. and closes between 10 p. m. and midnight. Partly because he seldom sees the sun, he is prone to sickness. Public health facilities in his neighborhood are at a minimum.

He is not an American citizen. He is snowed under with debts. By the time he reached New York from China in the old days, he was usually $3,000 in debt, even if he entered legally. Education did not help him; discrimination forced him to the most menial jobs. It took him 10 years to clear his debts and to save perhaps $1,000. Over a period of years, he made two or three trips to China to see his family. He will die at around 45, in China: he will go there when he feels his end is near. If he dies here, his ashes will be sent back at considerable expense, borne by his friends.

Most of his family in China is either near starvation or dead. (The majority of New York Chinese come from Toy Shan, in the Canton area, where some 40 percent of all deaths are due to starvation.

He sends over all the money he can possibly scrape together. With inflation here and in China, that now means little. The writer saw one elderly, gentleman in the laundrymen's center whose entire family had died of starvation; he could not earn enough to keep them alive. As news from China becomes worse, Chinatown's suicide rate rises tragically.

Chinese elders here worry over the future of Chinatown's young people. The young Chinese who went into the Army got used to living in the same rooms and eating at the same table with white American boys. Now they must return to a social status second only to the Negro. Those who weren't drafted but who worked instead in factories and shipyards foresaw a golden opportunity to get away from the laundries and restaurants. But now they, too, are unwanted and must return to Chinatown. They are bitter.

"Once you've tasted democracy," said one, "you become always hungry for it."

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United Nations News

US Rout

ON TWO of the General Assembly's most burning issues, the United States has shown a notable reluctance to support democracy abroad. On one of them—the treatment of Indians in South Africa—the US has approved racial discrimination similar to that practised in our South today. On the other—action against Franco Spain—the US abstained from voting on a compromise committee resolution to recall ambassadors from Madrid, then later reversed itself and approved the measure. Both times, the US found itself in a novel and unpleasant position, a minority position with two-thirds of the UN on the opposite side.

The Indian question was a moral one. India and South Africa, in 1932, concluded agreements outlawing segregation. Since that time South Africa has enacted laws which restrict an Indian minority in its right to vote, to own land, to hold jobs and to settle in certain areas. The General Assembly, by a two-thirds vote, requested South Africa to live up to the agreements. But before the debate had closed, Field Marshal Smuts, the elder statesman from South Africa, insisted that the whole problem was a domestic matter and asked that the International Court of Justice decide whether the United Nations had a right to meddle with it.

Smuts's proposal was nothing more than an attempt to camouflage the moral question. Strangely enough he won support from two of the most outspoken proponents of democracy at home and abroad—the United Kingdom and the United States. Charles Fahy, State Department legal adviser, took the rostrum in behalf of the Marshal. "Racial differences," said Mr. Fahy, "create stubborn problems. They are not soluble by fiat. They are soluble by remembering first principles, the equality of man in his natural rights, by patience and by the interior improvement of one's thoughts and conduct. . . . We must not create new antagonisms."

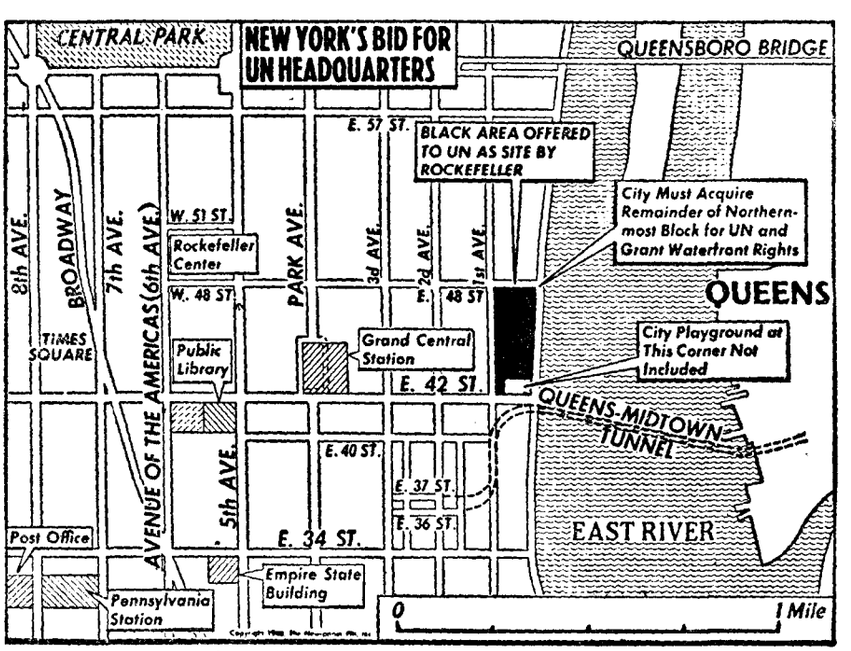
Mrs. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit, chairman of the Indian delegation and chief force behind the resolution, sat stiffly in her seat halfway down the assembly hall while the United States delegate continued his high-sounding speech. She sat there while the vote was being taken and beamed as the two-thirds majority was announced. She was immediately surrounded by a throng of well wishers.

Not only South Africa but the United States had been repudiated by a General Assembly which recognized the importance of minority rights.

MEANWHILE a considerably more heated but unhappily less conclusive committee debate was continuing on the Spanish question, and once again the United States was announcing its refusal to aid democracy abroad. Senator Connally went beyond a mere statement of position and threatened to ignore any resolution calling for a diplomatic or economic break with Franco. By this statement he twice blackened the name of the United States—once for conceding, as the Venezuelan delegate interpreted our position, that it is "now obsolete to fight fascism"; and once for suggesting that the US might ignore majority rule. The statement comes ill from a nation which fought a world war against Hitler; it comes ill from a nation which has often criticized Russia's use of the veto in the Security Council.

The resolution passed in the committee was no great victory for democracy in Spain. On the other hand, it was considerably stronger than the original US proposal and it was passed by a two-thirds vote despite the fact that the US abstained. It condemns Franco, cites the causes of his rise to power and his actions against the Allies, bars him from UN activities, requests the Security Council to discuss the matter if Franco refuses to quit, and requests member nations to recall their ambassadors and ministers from Madrid—a watered-down version of the diplomatic break.

It is worth noting that the United States found it impossible to vote for the resolution in committee but later reversed its position before the General Assembly as a whole. The reasons for this hesitation are not clear. We have nothing to lose from the resolution except Franco's good will. The reso-



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JOHN D. ROCKEFELLER JR.'S GIFT TO THE UN WILL CONVERT THIS DILAPIDATED SLAUGHTERHOUSE SECTION INTO A SKYSCRAPER WORLD CAPITOL

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lution is expected to cause no immediate change in the government of Spain. Moreover, it does not even require any action on the part of the United States. We are in an interesting diplomatic position. We have no ambassador to Madrid; we have no minister plenipotentiary; we have had neither since Norman Armour's resignation as ambassador last winter. We have a chargé d'affaires, but the resolution does not apply to a chargé d'affaires. Our diplomatic relations with Franco will remain unchanged.

Either the committee vote was another of Connally's blunders or the US has reconsidered and decided that social upheaval in Spain at this time is unlikely. In either case we deserve no great credit for a change of heart.

ONE OF THE best indications that the general public is taking a keen interest in what delegates do comes from the information desk at the United Nations. During the first week of the General Assembly, the 16 switchboard operators took some 1,200 calls a day, and they are still coming in at the rate of 800 a day. There are more inquiries about the Russians than about any other delegation, but India, Saudi Arabia and Liberia come in for their share of public interest, too—in that order. Mrs. Roosevelt gets more calls than any other delegate, but there are always a few people a a day who would "like to say 'bravo' to Mr. Molotov."

Requests for information on substantive matters range from, "How many times has the veto been used?" to "Does the UN have a beauty parlor?" There are requests for "the delegate from Salt Lake City," and queries about the "difference between the United Nations and the United States." The operators, all of whom speak at least two languages, do their best to give the right answer but they were frankly stumped the other day by a telephone call from an irate American.

"Are you the Human Rights Committee?" she demanded. The operator disclaimed the title but the woman was not to be put off.

"Well, I'm a citizen," she wailed, "and I have no human rights."

JANE BEDELL

Labor

Murray Takes Over

PHILIP MURRAY will have full opportunity during the next few weeks to demonstrate the measure of his industrial statesmanship. The United Steelworkers' contracts expire on February 15. Rarely, if at all, in the past, has a group of union representatives come to the collective-bargaining table armed with as many economic facts as Murray and his associates will have at hand when conferences open about January 1. But the obstacles which stand in the way of achieving the economic justice which the statistics clearly demonstrate are big and serious.

Basically, the argument in steel and in impending negotiations with the auto and electrical-manufacturing industries will be simple. Profits have risen to tremendous heights—figures almost undreamed of in the thirties and even in the wartime years.* Living costs, mounting steadily, have eaten deeply into the real wages of industrial workers. Murray's figures are calculated to show the justice of his wage demands and the overwhelming ability of the corporations to meet higher wage bills—even without increasing prices.

If the steel negotiations were conducted in a vacuum, Murray's position would be relatively easy. But the conferences will open shortly before the new Congress convenes. Talk of anti-labor legislation has increased ever since the elections and was given additional stimulus by the recent affair in coal. Mr. Lewis' eyebrows will cast a long shadow indeed down the bargaining table. How far can the steel union go, considering the state of public opinion and the government's new experiments in injunction procedure? How inclined will the steel companies be to compromise on a reasonable basis, in view of the national near-hysteria about strikes? A licking for the steel workers, along the lines of that administered to the miners' union would be relished in some circles.

Murray does not want a strike in steel. He recognizes all its dangers. At the recent CIO convention he stated: "There is no threat of strike in the offing. We want decent, straight, clean-cut, honorable collective bargaining."

Will he get it on an honorable basis? The oil and packing-house workers have succeeded, without strikes. With luck and Murray's undoubted powers of persuasion, it is possible. If he fails, the country will have lost another round to reaction.

* See on page 859 "The CIO Puts Its Case to the People," an analysis of the Nathan Report.

FOR A FULL 75 minutes last decision day the Foremen's Association of America held a mandate from the US Supreme Court to represent foremen at the Packard Motor Company.

Then it was snatched away. In fact, announced the Court, it hadn't been given at all.

Not a change of mind on the nation's highest bench, but the slip of a typewriter key in the Court's clerical department caused the error.

The Packard case was listed as "writ denied." Later it was made clear that the tribunal really granted writ and will look into the matter of whether foremen are part of labor or part of management.

The controversy stems from an NLRB ruling which ordered Packard to bargain with the Foremen's Association.

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The company took the case to the Sixth Court of Appeals at Pittsburgh, which ruled, two-to-one, that "although he (a foreman) is a part of the front line of management . . . he is an employee with reference to wages and conditions of employment."

Packard did not stop in Pittsburgh. It appealed to the Supreme Court, contending that a foremen's union would "throw the foremen in the union stream with the very men they supervise and subject them to union pressure."

This case involves foremen who belong to a union not affiliated with that to which their workers belong. Pending before the NLRB is another case which covers the question of gathering foremen and workers into the same union.

Meanwhile, the Court's nebulous "clerical department" is due for a scolding. Such slips have occurred before, most recently in the case of Louisiana's Willie Francis, whose first trip to the electric chair did not prove to be his last.

A HOPEFUL THING happened in Washington last week. Responsible representatives of the nation's utilities met with equally responsible officers of the six important utilities unions to plan ways to limit strikes in public utilities. They reached virtual agreement on voluntary arbitration.

The meeting, brought about by Conciliation Chief Edgar Warren, probably comes too late to have any effect on the next Congress. The Balls and the Tafts are going after the utilities workers—first.

Still, it's progress when District 50, the Amalgamated Association of Street Railway Workers, the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, the CIO Utility Workers, Mike Quill's Transport Workers and the Gas, Coal and Chemical Workers can sit down in civility with the American Transit Association and the American Gas Association and the Edison Institute.

Phil Murray has recovered from the strain of the Atlantic City convention. Until he calmed down, he was reported to have fired—and promptly rehired—his secretary, Molly Lynch, three times.

Farm

Help the Small Farmer

EVER SINCE I can remember I've been hearing that the small farmer hasn't a chance to survive. John Steinbeck proved it by telling the story of the Okies. Carey McWilliams proved it in his study of migratory workers; and the other day a small-farmer friend of mine handed me a harmless-looking little US Chamber of Commerce pamphlet that proved it all over again.

Its title is "Variations in Farm Income and Their Relations to Agricultural Policy," and, as you might suspect, the author wants to do away with laws to benefit the small farmer. My friend remarked that the writer wanted Congress to pass laws to benefit only the rich.

"Hardly a new idea," I said. "I suppose he thinks the family-sized farm or the small farm is obsolete and that the people should go into the desert like John the Baptist and eat locusts."

"HE DOESN'T actually say that," said Tom, "but he implies it. He says on page 21, for example, that we little farmers," and Tom started reading out of the pamphlet, " 'have become habituated to a primitive environment, and prefer it to any other. Often there has been developed little desire for the variety of material things associated with a higher standard of living. . . .'

"Then he says that although these family-type farms are supposed to be the backbone of the nation, the people who live on them are not good citizens. In other words, he thinks it is a pity we little farmers in Sequoyah County are cluttering up the landscape.

"You know," said Tom, "he reminds me somewhat of old man Johnson, who worked out plans for a freezorium so that come a depression the surplus people could be put in cold storage."

The chief point of the Chamber of Commerce is that because the bulk of agricultural products on the market are produced by one-third of America's farmers, the other two-thirds are unnecessary in our economy and will soon be eliminated. The Chamber of Commerce writer does not say what is to become of the 17 million people.

When he says that national agricultural policy should be related to the upper third of farmers who produce the most, he is in effect saying that all legislation that has helped the small farmer in the last 15 years was a big mistake and that all agencies like the Farm Home Administration should be abolished.

I think that national farm policy should be directed toward the welfare of all farmers. In the next few years not so many people are going to be needed in agriculture. The little fellow is going to be between hell and high water because he can't afford to buy a tractor and other machinery. His productivity will be low because nine times out of ten he has the poorest land. Numerous signs on the agricultural horizon point in the same direction. The coming widespread use of the cotton-picking machine and the flame-throwing weed killer indicate that many small farmers will be out of jobs soon. Dr. Arthur Raper, farm economist, estimates that the labor needed to farm cotton on the plains of Texas and Oklahoma will be reduced 59 percent by 1950. He predicts that 1.6 million farm workers will have left Southern farms between 1940 and 1956, a figure which does not include their families.

IN THE years ahead, American agriculture will produce bigger and bigger crops with less labor. If we don't watch out, the small farmer will wind up in the same fix he was in before Roosevelt. It should be realized that we can't put 17 million people in a freezorium.

It is a mistake to believe that small farms are always uneconomic. Many small farms are becoming mechanized and there is reason to believe that they are very efficient. Technology is not necessarily against the interests of the small farmer. For some years now certain manufacturers have been selling machinery especially designed for small farms. In some instances mechanization

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may actually give the small farmer an advantage. Dr. Raper thinks the startling progress made in mechanizing sugar-beet farms may actually encourage the family-size farm because it will permit the family to do all the work.

The size of a family farm may vary greatly. In the wheat belt it may be 10 acres and in upstate New York, where I lived until recently, it varied from 100 to 200 acres. The size depends on what the farmer grows and where the farm is located.

HERE IS what I think Congress should do to help the small farmer. First, he should be given all the credit he needs to buy land, machinery and fertilizer. In many instances if farmers, particularly in the South, could make long-term loans at three percent and short-term loans at five percent, they could get away from the larcenous one-crop credit system.

Next, I think Congress should authorize the election of farmer and consumer county and state committees to work out with the Department of Agriculture farm prices and production goals that would be fair both to consumer and producer. Also these committees should revise the basis for establishing parity prices and make recommendations to Congress. I do not see why parity should be tied to the 1909-14 purchasing power of a commodity.

I believe that Congress should appropriate money to buy up eroded land, improve it and sell it to the little fellow at low long-term interest rates.

Congress should also provide housing by passing the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill, which appropriates $250 million for rural housing, should extend the coverage under the Federal Wage and Hour Act, the Federal Unemployment Compensation Law and the National Labor Relations Act to farm workers. It should also pass the Federal Aid to Education Bill and should make more money available to the Farm Home Administration (formerly Farm Security). If these measures are carried out, if domestic markets for farm commodities can be maintained and if foreign markets can be developed, the small farmer may remain in a relatively prosperous condition for a long time.

ANGUS MCDONALD

Theatre

Old Acquaintance

SOCRATES expressed the thought that whatever is suited to the end intended is, with respect to that end, good. This might provide an introduction to Miss Gordon's new play ("Years Ago," by Ruth Gordon; Mansfield Theatre), which, after various road adventures, has at last arrived in town. "Years Ago" is a play dealing with the author's youth and her aspiration toward the theatre, toward New York, or at any rate toward fame and fortune.

As plot, this is about all there is to it: the young girl is determined to go to New York and be in the theatre. Around this resolution revolve her parents, naturally opposed to such an embarkation on her part. In theory and from the angle of stage limelight, this is the ancient Puritan prejudice against the theatre as a haunt of sinful show. From the standpoint of middle-class respectability it makes perfect sense, for until lately, when everything broke loose, the theatre could certainly be regarded as no place for doves. The young lady in this play is also adored by a local youth, who is going to sell bonds when his vacation is over, and she has friends of her own age, plus the quaint expressman and a very lovable cat, which, so far as I recall, she was much too taken up with herself to fondle. At the very last her father loses his job because of a worthy independence on his part; the $50 needed for the New York venture becomes impossible; but the young lady goes ahead just the same, all of it made possible by her father's spyglass, which will bring not less than a hundred. And so she goes to New York and to fame.

The virtues of this play have their very definite charm and appeal. That atmosphere of the New England home presents details that are touching and real. That cat, the whale tooth, the bits and accessories of the scene, the brush and flurry of village life, these and many other items are real and belong to our beloved Americana.

The defects of the play derive partly from the fact that the author does not sufficiently trust her material. She might well have heeded that Socratic sentence and kept in mind not sure-fire Broadway—sure-fire Broadway has its own laws and, in its turn, the habit of letting you down—but the sweetness and gentleness of the life portrayed, the dear, loved quality of the people she remembers. Unfortunately, Miss Gordon belongs to the successful block of our theatre, and a failure in that world is a major disaster, oh, quite, as distinguished from a failure in the true and exact world of art.

THE SECOND defect in this occasion is the directing. Garson Kanin, Miss Gordon's husband, who has done such wonders with his own "Born Yesterday" (that remarkable semi-farce, so ravishingly acted), is the director for this new play, and he has done no little of the damage. He has the whole thing kicked up, clicked up, set to almost a farce pace, so that a proper digestion of the matter is too often spoiled, a chance for flavor-tasting is forfeited and the necessary bland indulgence on our parts is sold out.

Fredric March, made up to look like a salty Hawthorne, gives an excellent performance as the father, harassed on $37 a week, washed out somewhat by his daughter's upheavals and by the stagnations of his class and period. Florence Eldridge evinces her usual sincerity and personal distinction, but suffers badly from the go-to-it directing. At any rate she is constantly rushing through every moment, so much so that not only the details themselves but even the rush of it all are squandered. Patricia Kirkland as the young-lady aspirant for the stage does not give a bad performance; it is perhaps as much due to the writing as to her portrayal that nothing appears that leads you to think, or care, about any reasons why she should be an actress—an actress that is, not merely a figure in a success story.

STARK YOUNG

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Movies

Dixie Corn

THE HONEY-SWEET Dixie presented in Walt Disney's first live-action drama, "Song of the South," shows plantation life as a paradise for lucky slaves. Hattie McDaniel, who will continue to radiate sunshine and warmth until Hollywood gets it from the atom bomb, sings and chuckles over her deep apple pies; old Uncle Remus, looking not a year over 210, sings and chuckles as bluebirds and butterflies frisk through his chicken-feather whiskers; lucky cotton-pickers, straggling home after a carefree 23 hours in the fields, sing and chuckle as the sunset drips gold all over them; the plantation owner pokes Uncle Remus in the ribs as they pass the time of day up to their ears in willows and colonial housing. Despite this hopped-up image of plantation life, "Song of the South" is still the first movie in years in which colored and white mingle throughout, and where both are handled with equal care and attention.

"Song of the South" takes place on a plantation near Atlanta which is—wonder of wonders in this age of movie plenty—smallish and run-down. The hero, Johnnie, is a cute little white boy (Bobby Driscoll) whose father can't spend as much time at home as the little tike demands. Uncle Remus (James Baskett) cheers Johnnie up with tales about Br'er Rabbit until the unpleasant, touchy mother (Ruth Warrick) breaks up the combination. As Remus leaves for Atlanta with Johnnie matching him stride for stride, the plantation bull snags the boy, bringing Remus shuffling back.

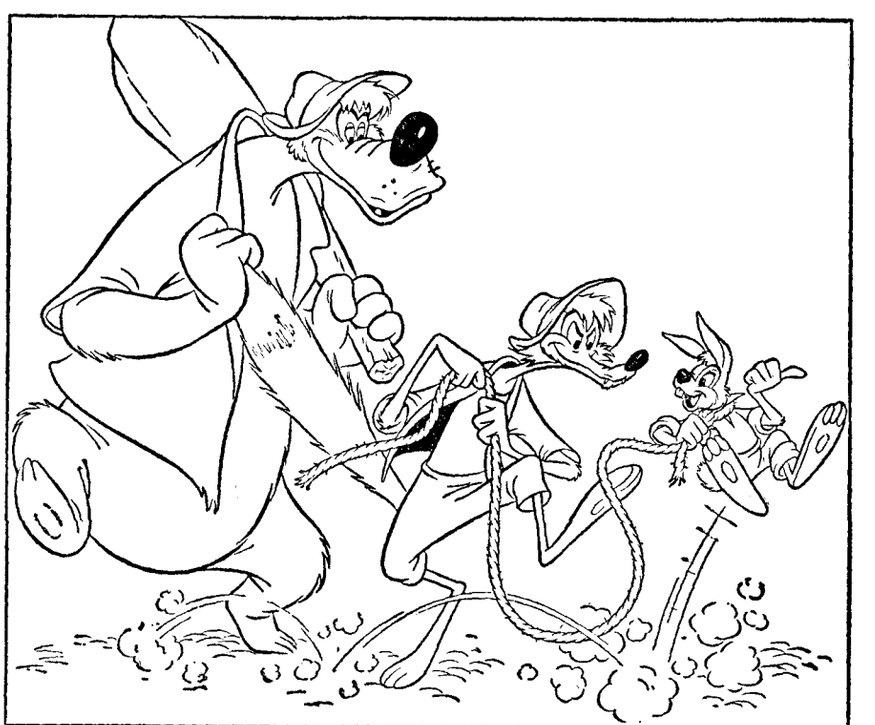
In the best scenes Disney gives a vivid sense of child life on a plantation—unlimited space, dirt roads and grassy hangouts that are breath-taking and unfortunately long forgotten; kids moving in the effortless, coördinated manner of children. But even here there is the annoying Disney ickiness—the colored boy grins too much, the Easter-egg color sugars the otherwise genuine sets; the Dead End Kids of the plantation are hardly a step removed from the sweetness of choir boys.

As Uncle Remus, James Baskett is so skillful in registering contentment that even the people who believe in the virtues of slavery are going to be impressed and want to know his secret. He's just as slick at his story telling. The three cartoons which are used when Remus tells his stories aren't top-drawer Disney, but as much as anything else make the movie worth seeing. Br'er Fox is a beautiful example of cartooning genius—a fox with a strongly drawn, original personality, a modish skinniness and the breathless loquaciousness of a Holy Roller. The rabbit is a watered-down Bugs Bunny and funny in the same way.

THE LATEST Hollywood effort to wrestle with diseased minds and their Fu Manchu machinations, a two-hour waste of high-priced Hollywood talent—"Undercurrent"—shows you and a feverish, cultured, somewhat slap-happy chemist (Katharine Hepburn) that life can be horrendous under its placid surface. This is first revealed to the chemist the day after she weds a chromium-plated, ambition-rid industrialist (Robert Taylor) who lets her show up at a Washington cocktail party in an old rag of an $80 dress. The day after this shattering, unbearably humiliating experience, she learns what a twist-brain it was who thought up such an outrage—her seemingly perfect husband with the unruffled exterior is obsessed with a maniacal hatred of his brother (Robert Mitchum), whose whereabouts has been unknown for five years. This destructive hatred arises out of the garden variety of sibling rivalry—everybody goes for the selfless, gentle, artistic brother, while even the dogs growl when Taylor enters the room.

Because there pop up some creepy characters who have in common a hatred for her husband, the wife suspects husband killed brother and snoops to substantiate the fact. This enrages husband, who becomes twice as enraged, and well he should be, when the wife falls in love with the brother whom she has never seen. A funny thing happens during the terror-ridden ending which tends to alleviate the horror somewhat. Katharine Hepburn, so ravaged by fear, opens her mouth but remains speechless. This you may want to see.

MANNY FARBER



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New Republic News

Morning After

SO MANY new people have joined the staff of the *NR* in the past few weeks that anyone who's been around the place since Labor Day considers himself a veteran. The atmosphere in the office those last few days when we were breaking our necks getting out the first Henry Wallace issue was a little like the opening of a school term. The new boys were standing around the corridors nervously sizing each other up and envying the old boys who shouted first names at one another and ran through the halls and up and down the stairs with the surefootedness of long experience. No one had time for introductions; no one could tell you where your room was to be; for an awful moment you wondered if you were going to be homesick.

In the pressure, though, of putting out an issue precisely twice as big as the old *NR*, and in view of the fact that our working space here is about what you'd expect to find on the dance floor of the Copacabana on New Year's Eve, we're shaking down pretty fast. By now we've all memorized the list of initials that heads important memos; we've taken a turn at pecking away on the teletype to Washington; we've grown accustomed to running into Henry Wallace in the corridors.

When a new magazine gets under way, the normal procedure is to engage in a period of "dry running" which can go on for weeks or even months. During that time the editors, art director, production men, advertising staff produce issues of the finished magazine, of which a few dozen copies are run off the press, thrashed about the office by everyone concerned, and then thrown away.

In a very real sense, the *NR* today is a new magazine, but because the staff that created it was also producing the old *NR*, there was no chance for "dry runs." Therefore, you may have found flaws in the first issue. We probably found more than you did, because we looked harder, but if you don't see what you want, ask for it.

Someone estimated at lunch the other day that there are two million liberals in the United States. If that's true, it's a low figure; but even so, there are a lot more liberals than there are readers of the *NR*, and it's probably been our fault. We haven't talked to them in terms of their own problems and desires; we haven't found them the news they couldn't find elsewhere; we haven't made ourselves a weapon to battle their enemies and ours. From now on we propose to cure those faults; this country needs a liberal magazine for liberals far more than it ever did a good five-cent cigar.

Fortune, the heavy-money entry in Henry Luce's stable, has received from a Kentucky mountain reader a letter congratulating the magazine on its appointment of Wallace as editor. The hillside subscriber finds special merit in the new editor's determination to produce a magazine "high-school students will enjoy," and suggests he'd make no mistake in hiring "some of us country boys who know the language of the common man."

George Soule, for many years an editor of the *New Republic*, is now president of Pilot Press, Inc., a New York book-publishing firm. Although Soule has withdrawn from the regular staff of the magazine, he will continue to contribute frequently to its pages.

Thomas J. Hamilton, a correspondent for the New York *Times*, is the author of *Appeasement's Child: The Franco Regime in Spain*, published by Alfred A. Knopf.

Richard Lee Strout, for many years the Washington correspondent of the *Christian Science Monitor*, is a frequent contributor to the *New Republic*.

Alistair Cooke is the United Nations correspondent of the Manchester *Guardian* and special correspondent on American affairs for the British Broadcasting Company.

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Books

On the Forge of Life

ARTURO BAREA is one of the thousands of Spaniards who live in ıonorable exile because they fought in lefense of the Spanish Republic. Since 938 he has lived in England, broadasting to Latin America for the BBC nd writing. He is well known there for iis short stories and reviews in such ›apers as *Tribune,* the *New Statesman nd Nation* and *Horizon*; for his critical tudy of his countryman, the poet Garia Lorca, who was murdered by Fran›'s fascists; and for his autobiography, ublished in England in three volumes s *The Forge, The Track* and *The Clash.* : has just appeared here, in a slightly bbreviated form, in one volume entled *The Forging of a Rebel* (Reynal nd Hitchcock, $5).

Born around the turn of the century, ıe son of a widowed laundress, Barea's ıildhood was more varied than that of ıost of his contemporaries. His early ears were spent in the slums of Madrid, ı the home of middle-class relatives in ıat city and on the farms of other latives in the nearby wheat and wine nds. His picture of each of these enronments is richly colored but un›aring in detail. The misery of the um, the bigotry of the Church and the hurch-controlled school, the viciousss of middle-class family and commeral life and the violence and ignorance peasant living are set down beside ıe love of his mother, the understandg of a Basque priest and the country easures of Castile.

N *The Track*, Barea has reached young manhood, a conscript in ›ain's last imperial venture against the oors in North Africa. The whole of e degradation of imperialist decay is ıbodied in his description of the studity, corruption and blind cruelty that d to the Disaster of Melilla. Whatver the fate of Barea's autobiography a whole, it is safe to predict that *The ack* will remain an ineradicable docuent in the history of colonialism.

Between the end of his army service and the beginning of the civil war he married, not happily, and although he was a trade unionist and a socialist, became a successful businessman. It may be significant, however, in the light of the Veblenian distinction between the craftsman and the entrepreneur, that his function in the economy was apparently always that of a technician.

With the outbreak of the fascist rebellion, Barea's sympathies and skills were enlisted on the side of the Republic. Until his friendship with an Austrian Socialist (who later became his wife) made him unacceptable to the Communists, he was head of the Foreign Press and Censorship Bureau in Madrid. His account of the tragic internecine warfare within the Republican government is the most objective we have had to date, and is testimony to his honesty and sense of historical values. It corroborates the lurid passages of *For Whom the Bell Tolls,* but it is told with quiet patience and an understanding of the personal and historical factors involved.

BAREA'S is an uncompromising book. His life afforded him the opportunity for melodrama, but he has avoided the extravagances of such other European odysseys as *The Story of San Michele, Out of the Night* or *Kaputt.* He has been as rigorous with himself as he was with his prose (admirably translated by his wife, Ilsa Barea). He is pitiless in detailing the failure of his first marriage and his pathetic experience with his mistress, and in retelling his mental and physical suffering during the closing months of the civil war he must have relived the agonies of spirit and body he suffered then. A partisan of the Republic, a member of the Socialist Party and a trade unionist, Barea has not let partisanship interfere with his rigorous effort to understand himself and the world he knew. The result is one of the great autobiographies of the twentieth century.

GEORGE MAYBERRY

Well, Welles?

SUMNER WELLES'S answer to the question in his title, *Where Are We Heading?* (Harpers, $3), is far from optimistic. His book, which went to press during the Paris Peace Conference, warns us that "the one last chance" of preventing the division of the world into two ideological blocs lies in the capacity of the heads of the three great powers "to demonstrate a degree of vision and of responsibility that they have not yet shown." More specifically, he declares:

"Unless the present impasse can be surmounted at the Paris Peace Conference of the 21 United Nations and at subsequent conferences to decide the final policy to be adopted toward Germany, the Soviet Union almost surely will withdraw from the United Nations and from any further attempt at peaceful collaboration with the Western powers."

A Portent:

This prophetic passage is quoted as the motto of the third volume of ARTURO BAREA'S *The Forging of a Rebel:*

. . . honor eternal is due to the BRAVE AND NOBLE PEOPLE OF SPAIN, *worthy of better rulers and a better fortune! And now that the jobs and intrigues of their juntas, the misconduct and incapacity of their generals, are sinking into the deserved obscurity of oblivion, the national resistance rises nobly out of the ridiculous details. . . . That resistance was indeed wild, disorganized, undisciplined and Algerine, but it held out to Europe an example which was not shown by the civilized Italian or intellectual German.*

RICHARD FORD, *Handbook for Travelers in Spain and Readers at Home.* London, 1845

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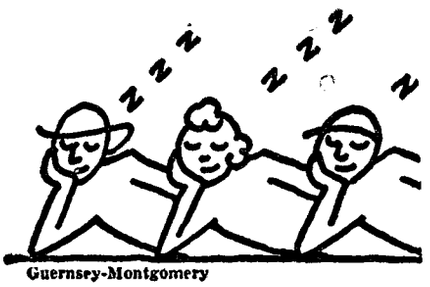

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Since then the critical discussions have been transferred to the New York area, and recent Soviet concessions in the Council of Foreign Ministers and in the United Nations General Assembly have helped to produce a more hopeful atmosphere than at any time since the end of the war. It remains to be seen, however, whether there will be a permanent improvement. I for one do not think that it suits the Russians' book to withdraw from the United Nations, whatever happens, but surely there is every reason, leaving aside the apparent improvement over the past few weeks, to agree that the world has been going to hell in a hay cart and may get there yet.

Who is responsible? Welles has a few unkind things, mostly about Palestine, to say about the British. Like many Americans who once held high hopes of Soviet coöperation after the war, he is disillusioned with Moscow. But his most biting criticisms are reserved for the United States. Until his dismissal from the State Department in 1943, Welles, rather than Cordell Hull, was President Roosevelt's principal adviser on foreign affairs. His argument is that until the death of Roosevelt, or at least up to the time he himself left the government, the foundations of world peace were being well and truly laid.

WELLES has managed to write a long book without mentioning Hull by name and with only one reference to "the Secretary of State" at the time. He does not, however, use the silent treatment for his attacks on Truman and on Hull's successors, Stettinius and Byrnes. He dismisses all three as well meaning men with absolutely no knowledge or understanding of foreign affairs.

However, since Stettinius' reign under the mansard roof was mercifully short, and Truman has had other things, such as strikes and the elections, on his mind, Welles naturally concentrates his criticism on the present Secretary of State. We have done the things we should not have done, and we have left undone the things we should have done, and there is no health in us.

The list is very long, and there is not sufficient space to record them all. To take only the recent meetings of the Big Three or Big Four: the London conference, in September, 1945, was "one of the most disastrous international conferences of modern times"; the succeeding Moscow conference was worse, for Byrnes, by abandoning Roosevelt's Yalta policy of support to freely elected governments in the Balkans and in Eastern Europe, "made inevitable the major clash between the Soviet Union and the United States which by his policy of appeasement he had hoped to avoid." Since Moscow, Byrnes has turned again, and is currently being just as tough to Russia as even the Chicago *Tribune* could desire. And Welles doesn't like this either; he thinks that Byrnes's public statements last spring, demanding a meeting of the Paris Peace Conference whether Molotov wanted it or not, went to the other extreme. "It is in my judgment highly questionable," he says, "whether these public pronouncements, made as they were at a moment of extreme exacerbation in Soviet-American relations, did anything but harm."

IN HIS earlier book, *The Time for Decision*, Welles was relatively restrained in his comments, but here he goes all-out. Our Austrian policy is "blind stupidity"; our policy toward de Gaulle was "not only unfortunate but stupid"; the publication of the Argentine Blue Book just before the election of Peron was an "almost unbelievably crass blunder." Toward the end of his book he concedes that the United States frequently ends with the right policy, but he insists we have "no sense of timing," so the results are just the same. As an example, he points out I think rightly, that the Baruch atomic plan would have had a much better chance of acceptance if it had been presented earlier, before suspicions were aroused in the Soviet Union by Truman's off-hand statements.

Except for his fantastic claim that Peron will give Argentina a New Deal—can he believe that Argentine fascism is really in the spirit of Franklin D. Roosevelt?—Welles undoubtedly has a case. It might be pointed out that the unfriendly treatment given de Gaulle and the friendly treatment of Franco came while Welles was still in the government, so his criticisms raise the ques-

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tion of what he was doing all that time.

It seems to me, however, that although Welles, as a professional diplomat, makes an effective case against the amateurs who succeeded him, he displays the weakness of a professional diplomat in proposing an alternative policy. His arguments in favor of a federalized Germany are effective, but he does not come to grips with the real question: shall the United States repeat the British mistake of the twenties and rebuild Germany all over again? Spruille Braden's tactics against Peron have been bad, but surely nobody can agree with Welles's comfortable reassurance that military dictators are the usual thing in Latin America. (It is obvious that Welles himself cannot propose a constructive policy, though he could carry one out when he had Roosevelt to guide him.) The principal value of his book is the unexcelled background information that it contains on practically every great issue of foreign affairs before us. We can trust him as a faithful reporter.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON

James M. Cox

A LONG TIME AGO, when this writer was an undergraduate, the famous president of his university, in the midst of an exciting presidential campaign, joined with 32 other distinguished Americans in a round robin to the nation declaring that the surest way to take the United States into the League of Nations was to vote for Harding rather than James M. Cox. Even as a very guileless young man, just back from World War I, this political advice seemed staggeringly naïve to me, and it has been hard to accept the solemn pronouncements of respectable wishful thinkers ever since.

Now in his autobiography, *Journey Through My Years* (Simon and Schuster, $4.50), Cox recalls the round robin and points a moral. Writing to Franklin Roosevelt on September 5, 1940, in one of a series of heretofore unpublished "Frank" and "Jim" letters, he refers to the just consummated, spectacular destroyer-bases deal with Britain:

> That was the right thing to do and a brave thing to do. It may elect you or it may defeat you. If the latter, what does it matter? The important thing is what, in the calm judgment of time, history will say.
>
> As an illustration, would you or I change places with the round-robiners of 1919 and 1920?

The "round-robiners"! What significance that phrase should hold in the history of America's political thinking—the rationalized betrayal, for the best possible motives, of mankind's hope of peace by those regarded as the intellectual aristocrats of the nation.

History will record that James M. Cox, against impossible odds, ardently, resourcefully and gallantly led the forlorn hope in the great tragedy of our times; that he took the banner of world peace from the stricken hand of Woodrow Wilson, and carried it unsullied. So, as this autobiography recalls, mankind had the chance to avert World War II even as now it has the chance, if it is willing, to avert a cumulatively more dreadful third world war.

And what of his antagonist, Harding? He sat on his front porch, blowing hot and cold on the League, now for a Hague Court "with teeth in it," now for an "association" of nations, while the respectable round-robiners resolutely closed their eyes and chorused that a vote for him was a vote for the League. Harding's masterly obfuscation of the League issue, it has been remarked, was his supreme intellectual achievement; he never rose to such heights again.

It would be a mistake to assume that Cox's long, successful life was bounded by the League battle; the thing that emerges here is the genuine stature of this League exponent. Before his own presidential candidacy, Cox was the reform Governor of Ohio. He has been friend and adviser of Democrats, from Bryan to Roosevelt. Today, at 76, he is the successful publisher of four city newspapers. Roosevelt picked him as second in command to Cordell Hull at the abortive London monetary conference in 1933. His book may precipitate a controversy with Raymond Moley over the latter's ambiguous role at the parley; a parley doomed from the outset, in Cox's retrospective judgment, by the conflict between Roosevelt's policy of seeking to raise prices at home while attempting to stabilize currencies abroad.

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Cox's book is written in a discursive, anecdotal, businessman's style. He makes little effort to recapture, in the mellow afterglow of the septuagenarian, the mood of the mighty drama of the past, save in eloquent contemporary inserts. He ends in a chatty grab bag of incidents and personalities. But much of the material is historically exciting and through it all runs the shrewd, fair-minded estimate of incidents and people, of the breach between Wilson and Colonel House, of the Farley-Roosevelt relationship, and the like.

Almost by surprise the reader sees the tragedy of the League defeat made artistically complete by discovering the caliber of the man whom the egregious Harding defeated by an almost two-to-one vote.

RICHARD LEE STROUT

"Oh, say . . ."

LOOK AT AMERICA, by the editors of *Look* (Houghton Mifflin, $12.50), the first of nine projected picture books on the United States, calls itself "a panorama of the American scene." It is a Chamber of Commerce anthology of all the lush, beloved clichés of our land. I say this in no carping spirit, for one of the unconquerable things about the American landscape is its weather-resistance to condescension. Henry James might whinny and sniff from Saratoga to Charleston, but he fortunately didn't know a pine from a pepper tree and so saved himself from the absurdity that would have overwhelmed him if he had ever fallen to deprecating the landscape along with the people it, oh so tiresomely, contained. There are not many people in this book and what there are look like movie extras, "general atmosphere"—as they say in Hollywood—doing the confident things against the proper landscape.

But the landscape smothers our misgivings. You can no more dissociate yourself from the Grand Canyon than from a sock in the jaw. And the wind-blown cypresses of Monterey's Midway Point are as much admired as "King Lear" and as moving.

It is most satisfactory with the West. You can hardly fail if you have a wide-angle lens, a good exposure meter, early or late cross-lighting. All the breath-takers are here: Death Valley, the Grand Canyon, the Columbia River Highway, the San Fernando Valley from the air, Crater Lake. These, and a score more, just reproduce literally the straightforward magnificence of the object. There are one or two others, however, a Yosemite Valley and the Canyon de Chelly, both by Ansel Adams, which enclose the terror and the grandeur in somehow personal compositions.

They have, too, used enough wide-angle lenses, and enough double-page spreads, to give a sense of the scale of the landscape. I don't mean the size of the country, and the hugeness of its resources (which are catalogued, as always, without much thought that perhaps our misuse of them is equally stupendous) but the wholly different balance, in different regions of the country, between the human scale and the scale of nature. This seems to me to be the most baffling and the most poetic thing about the American landscape.

The same technical sharpness is what vulgarizes most other places, making most of the South a candy-box selection of yummy plantations, shiny, happy Negroes, dripping Spanish moss and Corinthian porticos crunchy as icing. You would suppose—from this ceaseless over-filtering, these gleaming blacks and whites, this hard wonderful technical finish—that almost nowhere in America is there a wispy willow, or mild rain, or half-tones, or gray skies.

The accompanying text matches a good deal of this crudeness. It does amass a lot of careful and well intended information, but there's an uneasy tone about it, as if it knew the ancient myths —of the simple Yankee, the daring Westerner, the gracious Southerner— were threadbare but would still like to fondle them a little longer.

It's time, even in the age of Kodachrome, to hold a mirror up to America and show us patient and revealing things about it, not conditioned by anything but observation. This first volume mainly shows America flexing its pretty muscles, and big, sure—in front of a full-length mirror. It all adds up to superlative advertising copy. And I imagine the Russians could have cruel fun with it on every page.

ALISTAIR COOKE

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(Continued from page 843)

tism in various nations thinks of the United Nations as a means of preserving the imperial interests of those nations. The conservatives do not consider the UN as a world commonwealth in embryo because their attitude is nationalist and not internationalist. We, on the other hand, strive for the establishment of the UN as the basis for a non-totalitarian world government in which we, with other countries, are prepared to merge our sovereignty.

We feel you will join with us in hoping that our Soviet ally, for whose economic democracy we have a great admiration, will soon find herself able to permit the free dissemination of news and views into and from her territories and a free intermingling between her peoples and those of other countries. We feel that the Soviet will join with us and yourself in hoping that the great genius of the American people and the immense resources of the United States will be used, with those of other countries, to promote a planned distribution of the world's goods for the relief of famine and distress, thus proceeding toward the abolition of want and the causes of war; and that world abundance, for which we must all strive, shall not be prejudiced by insane international competition in the world's markets accompanied at home by repressive anti-trade-union practices.

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BARBARA AYRTON-GOULD, ASHLEY BRAMALL, DONALD BRUCE, JAMES CALLAGHAN, R. H. S. CROSSMAN, HAROLD DAVIES, W. GRIFFITHS, MARK HEWITSON, BENN W. LEVY, R. W. G. MACKAY, H. G. MCGHEE, J. P. W. MALLALIEU, FRED MESSER, JOE REEVES, SYDNEY SILVERMAN, WOODROW WYATT

Correspondence

In Defense of Dr. Doerge:

SIR: In your December 2 issue, page 712, under the heading, "Things to Watch Out For," you say, in regard to Colonel Peron of Argentina: "If the gestures toward rounding up German agents result in a list of deportees which include such names as Becker, Harnisch, Doerge and Utzinger, it will signify that Peron finally means business on his promises."

I lived in Argentina for seven years, and happened to know one of these men —Dr. Doerge. Dr. Doerge is a Ph.D. in Economics from the University of Berlin. He left Germany for the USA in 1938, and from there went to Chile and later to the Argentine. On his arrival in Argentina he immediately sent his daughter to the American School, where I was engaged as an instructor. Dr. Doerge did this to prevent her from being "inoculated with silly, untenable race doctrines," as he himself phrased it.

I have been in Dr. Doerge's home many times. Almost every day we discussed some phase of the international situation, particularly the First and Second World Wars. I eventually came to believe in Dr. Doerge as one of the finest gentlemen I have ever known. He is definitely democratic in all his sympathies, and deplores regimentation, whether of the Left or Right. He was ashamed of his own Nazi government, and especially of Hitler himself, whom he considered a raving fanatical fool made possible only by the unfortunate events in Germany that followed World War I. In my judgment, his present position of financial adviser to the Peron government is positively not due to any Nazi sympathies, but because, of the qualifications of the three men who applied for the position, his were by far the best. I believe that in this case our own State Department has been misled.

Warden, Wash. F. G. SMITH

On Standardizing Weapons

SIR: In your issue of November 11, the leading article on disarmament offers a suggestion which I hesitate to believe has really been thought through.

The article says: "The Combined Chiefs of Staff of Britain and America are today discussing the standardization of our armaments. Why not propose to all the United Nations that all of our weapons be standardized as a first step toward disarmament?"

The Anglo-American discussions on the standardization of weapons are premised on the theory that, on any future occasion requiring the use of weapons, the United States and Britain will be on the same side; that, in consequence, the British, with their highly exposed position vis-á-vis any continental enemy, will be better off, for weapons and especially for munitions and spare parts, if they are not dependent on their own highly concentrated arsenals and industrial establishments, but can draw immediately on those of North America. From the British viewpoint, this is tantamount to saying that they never expect to fight another war with whose object the American people are not in full sympathy. From our standpoint, such an agreement is equal to saying that if there ever should be another war the British Isles are an outpost whose defense is vital to our security.

But worldwide standardization of armaments takes in far more territory—both geographically and politically. The Russians, considering the vast gaps in their own industrial development—especially in precision instruments and weapons of highly complicated types—would, under any such arrangement which would make sense from the economic and technical viewpoints, be almost wholly dependent on American sources of supply for a long time to come. Granting a sufficient degree of international confidence to make such an arrangement possible, we would indeed have reached the goal of all our hopes, but it is precisely because there does not exist between the Russians and the English-speaking states the same degree of confidence that prevails between the British and ourselves that all our present anxieties have arisen.

GEORGE FIELDING ELIOT

New York City

Communist Influence

SIR: I for one am quite sure that I shall not enjoy reading the *New Republic* as edited by Henry Wallace. I do not question his sincerity, but like so many American liberals, he is strangely blind to the conspiratorial tactics of the Russian Fifth Column operating in this country. As a CIO man, I am heartily ashamed of the part the CIO, through allowing such extensive infiltration of the PAC by the Fifth Column, has played in contributing to the hoodwinking of honest liberals such as Wallace. But hoodwinkees don't make good editors.

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ATOMIC ENERGY for ENDURING PEACE

MEDICAL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY is the title of an article in the Atlantic Monthly by Professor Robley D. Evans of Massachusetts Institute of Technology. This institution was prominent in the development of atomic energy and the discovery of the atomic bomb.

Dr. Evans' article shows that through medical advances alone atomic energy has already saved more lives than were snuffed out by the bombs.

The subject of atomic energy reminds us that pupils in our schools have the right to study out of textbooks which tell of atomic development. Such textbooks can be found in Physics and in Chemistry.

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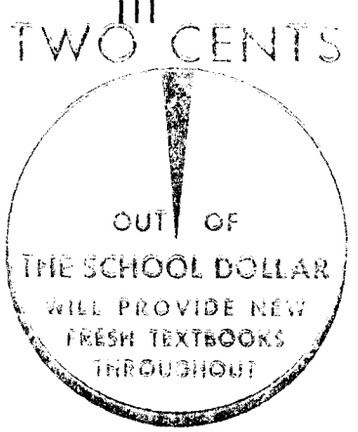

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Textbooks and teaching are a team, each necessary to the other. Let us have the best of both.

Below are listed a few of the textbooks in the above-named subjects which are available to young pupils of America:—

Stull-Hatch Victory Geographies
Quinlan Basal Primary Readers
Rainbow Readers, Adventures in Science
Adventures in English, New Language Books
Adventures in Language, Activity Notebooks
Magruder's American Government in 1947
Hughes' Building Citizenship
Townsend's Our America
Hughes' Making of Today's World
West and West's History Series
Global Geography for High Schools
Wood and Carpenter's Our Environment
A Complete Modern Science Series
Brownlee's Elements of Chemistry
Fuller, Brownlee and Baker's Physics
Smallwood's New Biology
Stein's Refresher Arithmetic
The New Mathematics Series
Edgerton and Carpenter's Algebras
Chardenal Textbooks in French
Smith-Thompson's First Year Latin

Allyn and Bacon

Boston New York Chicago Atlanta Dallas San Francisco

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